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HISTORIC MEMOIRS

OF

IRELAND;

COMPRISING

SECRET RECORDS

OF THE

NATIONAL CONVENTION, THE REBELLION,

AND

THE UNION;

WITH

DELINEATIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS

CONNECTED WITH THESE TRANSACTIONS.

BY

SIR JONAH BARRINGTON,

MEMBER OF THE LATE IRISH PARLIAMENT

FOR THE CITIES OF TUAM AND CLOGHER.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

CURIOUS LETTERS AND PAPERS IN FAC-SIMILE; AND NUMEROUS ORIGINAL PORTRAITS.

Second Edition.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

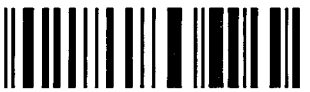
VOL. II.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR HENRY COLBURN,

BY RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

MDCCCXXXIII.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HOWLETT AND BRIMMER, PRINTERS, 10, FRITH STREET, SOHO.

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Page 76, line, 21, *for* 1737, *read* 1715.
„ 106, „ 1, *for* 29th July, *read* 19th July.
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CHAPTER I.

Duke of Portland pursues the System of dividing the Irish Leaders—Mr. John Scott, the Irish Attorney-General, makes a most extraordinary Speech—Totally recants his despotic Principles—Secedes from Government—The unprecedented boldness of his Language—He tenders his Life and Fortune to put down the Usurpation of England, and effect the Independence of the Irish Nation—Anecdotes of Mr. Scott—Extraordinary Sensations occasioned by this Declaration, and Insincerity of the Duke of Portland—He attempts to take Advantage of the Moderation and Confidence of Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan—Irresistible Attitude and Power of the Irish People at that Period—Census of the Volunteers—Their Numbers and Preparations for actual Service—Perilous Situation of England—Cautious and deceitful Policy of the British Cabinet—Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt—Their Views and Opinions respecting Ireland—Meeting of Parliament—Duke of Portland goes in State—The Volunteer Regiments and Artillery occupy the Quays and Avenues to the House of Commons—The Regular Troops line other Streets immediately adjoining—Perfect Harmony exists between the Volunteers and the Regular Army—They accidentally come into Contact, and salute each other with the usual military

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THE foundation of Irish independence had now been laid, by the spirit of the Parliament and the unanimity of the people; and the stately structure of Irish liberty seemed likely to rise with solidity and magnificence. The labourers were numerous and indefatigable; and nothing was to be dreaded but contrariety in the plans, or jealousy among the architects:—dangers which are proved, by the sequel of her history, to be the true and substantial cause of Ireland's misfortunes and annexation. It is demonstrated by facts, beyond the power of refutation, that from the moment the British Ministry found it imperatively necessary to accede to this declaration of Irish independence, no consideration was paramount in their councils to the desire of counteracting it. In furtherance of that object, from the period of the Duke of Portland's administration to that of Lord Cornwallis, the old and vicious system of dividing the Irish Chiefs against each other, and profiting by their dissentions, was artfully pursued by the English Ministry, as the most effective means to recover and re-establish their own supremacy; and they resolved to achieve, at any risk or price, the disastrous measure, which, at one blow, prostrated the pride, the

power, and the Legislature of Ireland, and reduced her from the rank of a nation to the level of a department. But the people had now no leisure for suspicious forethought, or mature reflection; and the interval between the declaration of independence, and the reply of His Majesty to that declaration, though a period of deep anxiety, neither awakened serious doubts, nor produced implicit confidence.

An adjournment for three weeks was now proposed in the Commons, to give time for the arrival of His Majesty's Answer to their Address and Declaration. This motion, though it gave rise to a conversation rather than a debate, produced one of the most singular political phenomenons that had ever appeared in the history of any nation.

Mr. John Scott, then Attorney-General, whose character has been delineated in the early part of these Memoirs*, and whose despotic conduct had previously given rise to many and severe animadversions, took advantage of this occasion to renounce, in unqualified terms, his former and favourite political principle, that "might constitutes right." He declared his firm and unqualified adherence to the claims of Ireland, in terms which, a week before, he would have prosecuted as a seditious libel; and tendered his large fortune towards a general fund, to enforce from Great Britain the rights of Ireland, if force should become necessary.

He said, that "he now felt it indispensable for him to throw off

* See Character and Anecdotes of Mr. Scott, vol. i. page 37.

" all equivocal and mysterious silence, and declared, as his " unchangeable opinion, that Great Britain never had any right " whatever to bind his country; and that any acts she had ever " done for that purpose were decided usurpations. That if the " tenure of his office of Attorney-General depended upon the " maintenance of doctrines injurious to the rights and independence " of Ireland, it was an infamous tenure; and if the Parliament of " Great Britain were determined to lord it over Ireland, he was " resolved not to be their villain in executing their tyranny *. That

* It is a very curious fact, that Mr. Attorney-General Scott's declaration of resisting the usurpation of England in 1782, was repeated in 1800, by two other successive Attorney-Generals of Ireland, though under different circumstances. Mr. William Saurin, in his place in Parliament, declared that he considered the Irish Representatives incompetent to enact a legislative union; and that any statutes, made by a Parliament so constituted, would not be constitutionally binding on the Irish people. That gentleman, some time after, became Attorney-General of Ireland himself, and never afterwards repeated his scepticism.

Mr. Plunkett made the same declaration, but in rather stronger terms, as he vouched for his son as well as himself; and soon after became Attorney-General. Mr. Forster, and numerous able lawyers, some of them junior judges, and many country magistrates, united in those sentiments. However, both the Attornies-General, the lawyers, and the magistrates, appear to have been better advised, if we are to judge from the large proportion of the Irish peasantry who have been hanged, whipped, or transported, under penal laws enacted by Union Parliaments for the sole use of Ireland, since the time of those declarations.

No Member of the Irish Parliament opposed the Union more strenuously than the Author of this Work, and he united with those gentlemen in their opinion as to the incompetence of the Irish Parliament. But the measure being enacted *de facto*, he considered that, *ex necessitate rei*, it must be carried into execution.

" if matters should proceed to the extremity to which he feared " they were verging, he should not be an insignificant subscriber " to the fund for defending their common rights. That a life of " much labour, together with the blessing of Providence, and what " is commonly called good luck *, had given him a landed property of " 5,000*l.* per year, and an office of great emolument,—all which " should certainly be devoted to the service of his country. That " it would be disgraceful, for the paltry emoluments of an office,

* Mr. Scott (afterwards Lord Clonmell) used humorously to observe, that " He " believed good luck had fallen in love with him." He was of very humble birth, and came to the bar without money or connexion. The coarse effrontery of his address procured him the name of " Copper-face Jack."—He soon rose in his profession as an advocate,—never as a Lawyer. He was one of the most fortunate men in the world. All his objects were attained: no person ever left him a legacy that death did not immediately put him into possession of it. He wished for a younger wife, and death very soon gave him an opportunity of marrying an heiress. If he was promised any office by Government, the incumbent very seldom tarried long in the world to keep him out of it. The only circumstance which seemed to prey much on his Lordship's mind, and which indeed almost fretted him to death, was his contest with a Mr. Magee, editor of The Dublin Evening Post, whom he had by a fiat severely handled. This Mr. Magee purchased a small piece of ground close to, and immediately in front of, his Lordship's magnificent mansion near Dublin. He named it *Fiat Hill*, and there entertained the populace of Dublin once a week with the most ludicrous games and exhibitions;—prizes of soaped pigs—dancing dogs, in barristers' uniforms—ass races, the jockeys in wigs and gowns, et cetera. As Magee, though actually mad, kept studiously without the grasp of the law, he annoyed Lord Clonmell beyond all endurance; a chagrin which it was thought, with some other sources of uneasiness, at length broke down his spirits and constitution; and he died, regretted only by the junior bar of Ireland

" to stand watching the vibrations of the balance, when he had " determined to throw his life and his fortune into the scale.—I " know," concluded the Attorney-General, " that the public mind is " on fire: I know that the determination of the people is to be " free; and I adopt their determination."

A speech of so strong and stormy a nature, never having before been uttered by any Minister or Law Officer of the British Empire, nor even by any Member of the Irish Parliament, created a sensation which it is scarcely possible to describe *. However, from the former conduct of Mr. Scott, this speech received various constructions. By some it was considered as the result of jealousy—by some it was ascribed to fear—by others to policy;—but whatever was its source, it was most singular, and in one sentence conveyed a volume of information.

" If matters proceed to the extremities to which I fear they are " verging"—was a direct declaration of mistrust in the Government he served: and such a speech, made in Parliament by the first confidential executive Law Officer of the Crown, possessed a character of mystery and great importance; the more so, as being directly contrasted with

* The author was present at all these important Debates. On Mr. Scott's recantation, the sensation of the House was so striking and singular, that he can never recollect it without emotion. For a moment, there was a profound silence—gradually, the murmur of astonishment was heard, spreading from bench to bench—till one loud and general cry of approbation burst from every quarter of the House, and, in rapid and continued plaudits evinced the enthusiasm of that era, and the importance of that secession.

the insipid, eulogising language of those in private intercourse with the Viceroy.

The dread of an insurrection in Ireland was thus, in direct terms, announced by the King's Attorney-General; and by his intrepid determination to risk his life and fortune to support its objects, afforded good reason to apprehend that His Majesty's reply was not likely to be such as would cultivate tranquillity, and left no doubt that the Attorney-General foreboded an unwise reluctance in the British Cabinet, to a measure so vital to the peace, perhaps to the integrity, of the British Empire. This conduct of Mr. Scott, coupled with the previous secession of Mr. Fitz-Gibbon, must be looked on as among the most extraordinary occurrences of these, or any other times.

In the history of Nations and of Parliaments, there is not another instance of two such men, publicly professing, and, as far as in them lay, practising the principles of arbitrary power, being so humbled, and reduced to the abject condescension of feigning a public virtue they had theretofore but ridiculed, and assuming a factitious patriotism, the result, at best, of their fears or of their policy.

However, be the motive what it might, that most unprecedented conduct taught the British Government that they could no longer trifle with, nor controul Ireland. Their power was then extinct; and no course remained but that of instantly relinquishing their long-vaunted supremacy, and surrendering at discretion to the just demands of a determined and potent people: and the splendid, though temporary and delusive triumph which followed soon for Ireland, affords a

glorious precedent for oppressed nations, and an instructive lesson for arrogant usurpation.

The House at length adjourned, and awaited the reply of the British Cabinet; and the interval which elapsed, gave to the Viceroy and the nation ample time for deliberation and for action. Immediately on this unexpected turn of the parliamentary debates, the Duke of Portland sent off two despatches to England; one to the Cabinet as a public document, and the other, a private and confidential note to Mr. Fox. The latter document explained his reasons for the necessity he felt of acceding, without any appearance of reluctance, to any demands which might at that moment be made by the Irish Parliament; but intimated, that from the conciliatory disposition which the great majority of the House of Commons manifested, he had reason to be assured that by acceding with a good grace, his own influence and the confidence of the Irish Parliament in the British Government would be materially augmented; and that so strong a difference of opinion appeared to exist between some gentlemen of weight, that arrangements more favourable to England might possibly be effected through their controversies, although he could not venture to propose such, were they perfectly unanimous. He stated, in conclusion, that he would omit no opportunity of cultivating his connexion with the Earl of Charlemont, who appeared entirely disposed to place confidence in his administration, and to give a proper tone to the armed bodies over whom he had the most considerable influence.

This note, a copy of which has since been made public, says as

much as an embarrassed and deceptious Viceroy could, under such circumstances, undertake for any minister; and so skilfully did he act upon these suggestions, that he inveigled the good but feeble Earl Charlemont entirely into his trammels; and as long as his Grace remained in the Irish Government, he not only much influenced that nobleman, but kept him at arm's length from some of the ablest statesmen of the country, without their perceiving the insidious power that caused the separation.

The Marquis of Rockingham, though not an able statesman, was the most honourable and candid of all the British Cabinet; and he saw the case in its proper colours. He perceived, and fairly admitted, that the constitutional questions between the two nations were more complicated and numerous than they at first appeared to be; and that, probably, questions, at that hasty moment unforeseen by the Irish Parliament, might thereafter arise, and require ulterior arrangements to render the connexion completely operative.

The other Ministers, however, held a different language, and at first conceived that Ireland would be finally satisfied with superficial concessions, which they had determined to propose; and they did not despair, by plausible conduct, according to the Duke of Portland's policy, to temporise with all parties,—to play off the people and the Parliament imperceptibly against each other; and, gradually diminishing their mutual confidence, bring both to a dependence upon the liberality and good faith of the British Ministry, and indispose the

Irish Parliament from insisting upon any measures which might humble the pride, or alarm the interests, of the British nation.

The British Cabinet had certainly great embarrassments to encounter. They had intended, as a part of their new system, to have the credit of voluntarily proposing partial concessions to Ireland; and if these concessions had originated with themselves, they might have modelled them in a way palatable to the British people, whom they, as Ministers, acting on new principles, could not venture so speedily to displease. They had the difficult step to take of gratifying the claims of Ireland, without affecting the egotism of Great Britain. But, the relative interests of the two countries being in many points of detail fundamentally repugnant, the dilemma of Ministers was extremely embarrassing. It was doubly increased by a declaration of rights, which superseded the boon of their own intended concession; and a positive demand, which anticipated the credit of a spontaneous generosity—an advantage which was now lost to them for ever. Their voluntary favours would now be changed to compulsory grants, the extent of which they could neither foresee nor controul. They were, therefore, necessitated to adopt a prudent, although a humiliating system of policy.

While the British Cabinet and the Irish Viceroy deeply deliberated and actively corresponded, the Irish nation was not idle. No relaxation was permitted in the warlike preparations of the volunteer army. Reviews and discipline were continued with unintermitting

ardour and emulation. Their artillery was daily exercised in the Phœnix Park, near Dublin. Camp equipage was preparing for actual service; and on the day to which the Parliament adjourned, the whole of the volunteer force of the metropolis was under arms, and fully prepared for the alternative (which the decision of His Majesty's Cabinet, through the speech of its Viceroy, might impose upon the people) either to return to their homes for the peaceful enjoyment of their rights, or instantly to take the field to obtain them. Musters had been ordered, to ascertain the probable numbers of volunteers ready for immediate and active service. The returns had increased from the former census to about 124,000 officers and soldiers, of whom upwards of 100,000 effectives, well armed and disciplined, and owning no superiors but their God and their country, would, on the first sound of an hostile trumpet, have rushed with enthusiasm to the standards of independence. The volunteer regiments and corps were commanded almost all by spirited, and many of them by experienced, retired officers of the British army; the non-commissioned ones being chiefly selected veteran soldiers, who had fought in the American campaigns, and learned, from their own defeats, the powers of a people determined to obtain their freedom. The whole disposable military force of Great Britain was at that period inadequate to combat one week with the volunteers of Ireland, composing an army which could be increased, at a call, by a million of enthusiasts; and which, in case a contest had unfortunately arisen, would have also been liberally recruited by

the desertion of every Irish soldier from the British army—and nearly one third of that army was composed of Irishmen. The British Navy, too, was then also manned by what were generally denominated British tars *; but a large proportion of whom were in fact sailors of Irish birth and Irish feelings, ready to shed their blood in the service of Great Britain whilst she remained the friend of Ireland, but as ready to seize and to steer the British navy into Irish ports, if she declared against their country.

The safety of England was then clearly in the hands of Ireland; and one hostile step, at that perilous crisis of the two nations, must have terminated the unity, and of course the power, of the British Empire. But the Cabinet acted more wisely. They considered that resistance to the just demands of Ireland would be unavailing; and that she was then too powerful for England to hazard an insurrection, which, if once excited, it would have been impossible to suppress.

The British Cabinet was too cautious to risk a danger so imminent, and they adopted a safer and a wiser course. They yielded to existing circumstances, and determined to concede; but with the usual quantity and quality of diplomatic dissimulation, they reflected, that

* The mutiny at the Nore, in the channel fleet, confirms this observation. Had the mutineers at that time chosen to carry the British ships into an Irish port, no power could have prevented them; and had there been a strong insurrection in Ireland, it is more than probable they would have delivered one half of the English fleet into the hands of their countrymen.

a system of conduct, which is called perfidy in private life and policy by Governments, has been very generally and very successfully resorted to in important political dilemmas; and they adopted the low and cunning course of yielding with affected candour, and counteracting with deep duplicity.

The Cabinet reflected, also, that times and circumstances cannot always remain unchanged, and that the political vicissitudes to which every State is subject, frequently enable conceding powers to re-assume usurpation; and, when restored to strength and vigour, again to forget the law of nations and of justice, and explain away or deny the spirit of those engagements which their feebleness had contracted. The events which have since occurred in Ireland, and the conduct and equivocation of the British Ministers in 1799 and 1800, proved to the world, that such were the premeditated and ulterior views of the British Cabinet, in 1782; and that the Duke of Portland was well aware of its objects, and freely lent himself to their perpetration.

Mr. Fox never had any especial predilection for Ireland. He was ignorant equally of her rights *, and her localities; and he considered her only as the segment of a great circle, which he laboured to encompass. He wielded the grievances of Ireland only as an instrument of opposition to the Crown, or a weapon of offence against the Ministry. He was a great man, with a popular ambition, and assumed the hereditary title of Whig, when the professed principles joined to it had nearly

* See Mr. Fox's Letter to Earl Charlemont, April 1782.—Hardy's Life of Charlemont.

become obsolete. Mr. Pitt and he had in view the very same object*—*to rule*; and they only differed in the means of effecting it. The one wished to rise upon the shoulders of the people; the other, to be elevated upon those of the aristocracy. But the ambition of both was to govern the Empire; and of both to rule the Monarch, and controul his Council. Their rivalry was of party, and their struggle was for power; but Ireland, as a distinct abstract consideration, never gave one hour's solicitude to either the one or the other of those celebrated Ministers.

The Duke of Portland was not of sufficient talent or weight to lead the Ministry; but he had enough of both to be an efficient accessary. A man of plain, fair, undistinguished reputation, can effect important acts of duplicity, with less suspicion and more facility than more prominent and energetic personages; and when the moment of development arrives, he can plead the honesty of his character, and the error of his judgment: or, at the worst, he probably gains a great point, and can only lose a narrow reputation; such a loss, too, as gives him a stronger claim upon the Crown, in whose service he has made the sacrifice.

These observations may be interesting, as decidedly applicable to the administration of the Duke of Portland. His Grace's conduct and speeches on the question of the Union, in 1800, leave no doubt that the whole tenour of his conduct, in 1782, must have been a premeditated tissue of dissimulation.

* The unpopular and disgusting coalition of Mr. Fox with Lord North, convinced the Empire that his first consideration was—office; and his last—the mode of attaining it.

The Irish House met, pursuant to the adjournment, on the 27th May, 1782,—a day teeming with importance to the fate of Ireland and the character of Great Britain. It is not easy to imagine the solicitude and impatience with which the people awaited the decision of Great Britain on its claims.

On the morning of that memorable day, the volunteers were under arms at an early hour. Their artillery, under the orders of James Napper Tandy *, was stationed on the Quays, and commanded all the bridges leading from the Military Barracks to the House of Parliament. The other corps, horse and foot, were posted at different stations of communication in the city; while the regular troops, formed in treble files, lined the streets for the passage of the Lord Lieutenant. But, though neither party knew what would be the result of that day's debate, nor whether war or peace would be proclaimed by the British Ministry, not a symptom of hostile feeling appeared on any side. The volunteers and the regular troops saluted each other as they passed, and shewed every reciprocal mark of military courtesy and amity. The strictest order and most perfect harmony prevailed; and the whole was a combination the most interesting and extraordinary, forming a scene to which history affords no parallel. The national effervescence of the people was restrained by the example and influence of the volunteers; and never did so promiscuous and agitated an assemblage display so much tranquillity or preserve so much decorum.

* See the Character and Anecdotes of Napper Tandy, vol. i. page 184.

The crowded streets seemed animated by a common sentiment of suppressed intensity. A deep, but not despairing murmur vibrated throughout; and the throng, which formed an almost solid mass, around the classic colonnades and porches of the Senate House, awaited, with a resolute but calm, and therefore more formidable, solicitude, the announcement of that decision which was to determine the awful alternative of war or liberty. It was a crisis without precedent—a scene for Ireland's recollection, and the world's example.

As the patriotic Members struggled through the crowd to enter into the House, it was impossible totally to restrain the boisterous and enthusiastic affections of the people.

The Lord Lieutenant passed on, receiving great respect; and there appeared no actual want of confidence in the happy result of his Grace's communication.

The Duke of Portland had not a very dignified demeanour, but unfortunately every body then considered him as a man of inviolable political integrity. His time, during the recess, had been skilfully employed to moderate public feelings, to gain upon the country gentlemen by flattering attention and courtly blandishment,—to soften down every feeling of doubt or of surprise, that might interrupt an unanimity which he was then desirous to obtain, but without any intention of perpetuating.

His Grace had learned, from Earl Charlemont, the character of Mr. Grattan, before he saw him. He was fully apprised of his spirit and his patriotism, and knew well that neither could be conquered;

and that it was only by operating on the moderation and generous confidence of that virtuous Irishman, that he could expect eventually to divide the Parliament, and thus chill the general enthusiasm of the people, and effect such objects of the British Government as he had been instructed to bring about.

The Viceroy, also, well knew that the public conduct and implicit confidence of Mr. Grattan were much in the keeping, and greatly under the guidance, of the Earl of Charlemont. On the foibles of that patriotic and high-minded, but credulous and courtly nobleman, the Duke therefore played off all his engines; and the Marquis of Rockingham was not backward in lending himself to that policy.

Mr. George Ponsonby*, politically connected with his Grace, and who was intended for the office of Attorney-General, used all his mild and steady influence, but with real sincerity and without suspicion, to excite an implicit confidence in the Minister and the Viceroy, and to stifle every doubt of his truth and his integrity; and, before the meeting of Parliament, his Grace had made great progress in exciting shades of difference in the opinions of those who should have been unanimous. A premature gratitude, and credulous confidence, had already prepared the House for his reception; and he delivered the Speech from the Throne, with a well-affected honesty of emphasis, and an imposing appearance of individual gratification.

* See the Public Character of that Gentleman, vol. i. page 301.

The Viceroy's Speech* gave rise to a debate of the very highest importance, not only as affecting the interests and feelings of that day, but as influencing the subsequent events and destiny of the Irish nation.

* "My Lords and Gentlemen.—It gives me the utmost satisfaction, that the first time "I have occasion to address you, I find myself enabled, by the magnanimity of the King, "and the wisdom of the Parliament of Great Britain, to assure you that immediate atten- "tion has been paid to your representations, and that the British Legislature have con- "curred in a resolution to remove the causes of your discontents and jealousies, and are "united in a desire to gratify every wish expressed in your late Addresses to the Throne.

"If any thing could add to the pleasure I feel in giving you those assurances, it is "that I can accompany them with my congratulations on the important and decisive victory "gained by the fleets of His Majesty over those of the common enemy in the West Indies, "and on the signal advantage obtained by His Majesty's arms in the Island of Ceylon, "and on the Coast of Coromandel.

"By the papers which, in obedience to His Majesty's Commands, I have directed to "be laid before you, you will receive the most convincing testimony of the cordial reception "which your representations have met with from the Legislature of Great Britain; but His "Majesty, whose first and most anxious wish is to exercise His Royal Prerogative in such "a manner as may be most conducive to the welfare of His faithful subjects, has further "given it me in command to assure you of His Gracious disposition to give His Royal Assent "to Acts to *prevent* the suppression of Bills in the Privy Council of this Kingdom, and the "alteration of them any where; and to limit the duration of the Act for the better Regulation "and Accommodation of His Majesty's Forces in this Kingdom, to the term of two years.

"These benevolent intentions of His Majesty, and the willingness of His Parliament "of Great Britain to second His Gracious Purposes, are unaccompanied by any stipulation "or condition whatever.

"The good faith, the generosity, and the honour of this nation, afford them the surest

Mr. Grattan immediately rose. His unsuspecting and grateful mind, though congenial to the honest liberality of a patriot, was quite too conceding and inexperienced to meet the ways and wiles of deceptious Statesmen. Misled by the apparent sincerity of that Speech, and the plain and plausible demeanour of the Duke of Portland, he lost sight of every thing but confidence and gratitude, and left to deeper politicians to discover the snare that lay concealed amidst the soothing and honourable language of the Viceroy.

He said,—"That as Great Britain had given up every claim to "authority over Ireland, he had not the least idea that she should be "also bound to make any declaration that she had formerly usurped "that power. This would be a foolish caution, a dishonourable "condition *. The nation that insists upon the humiliation of

"pledge of a corresponding disposition, on your part, to promote and perpetuate the har-"mony, the stability, and the glory of the Empire.

"On my own part, I entertain not the least doubt, but that the same spirit which "urged you to share the freedom of Great Britain, will confirm you in your determination "to share her fate also, standing and falling with the British Empire."

* This was a mere juvenile syllogism, where neither premises nor conclusion could support the argument. Ireland certainly was, in those days, a patriotic—ardent—talented—courageous nation. But wisdom, in the abstract, has never been reckoned as one of her attributes. Credulity and wisdom are nearly incompatible. Ireland was a credulous nation;—ergo—she could not have been a wise one. The first syllogism was founded on sentiment; the second, on fact. Had Ireland been more sceptical in 1782, she would have been less unfortunate in 1800.

" another, is a foolish nation; and Ireland is not a foolish nation.
" I move you, to assure His Majesty of our unfeigned affection to His
" Royal Person and Government; that we feel, most sensibly, the
" attention our representations have received from the magnanimity
" of His Majesty, and the wisdom of the Parliament of Great Britain;
" to assure His Majesty, that we conceive the resolution for an un-
" qualified unconditional repeal of the 6th George the First to be a
" measure of consummate wisdom and justice, suitable to the dignity
" and eminence of both Nations, exalting the character of both, and
" furnishing a perpetual pledge of mutual amity; to assure His
" Majesty, that we are sensibly affected by his virtuous determination
" to accede to the wishes of His faithful subjects, and to exercise His
" Royal Prerogative in the manner most conducive to their welfare.
" That gratified in those particulars, we do assure His Majesty, that
" no constitutional question between the *two nations will any longer*
" *exist*, to interrupt their harmony; and that Great Britain, as she
" approved of our firmness, may rely on our affection; and that we
" remember, and do repeat our determination, to stand or fall with
" the British Nation."

When Mr. Grattan concluded the Address, which was seconded by Mr. Brownlow, a most animated and interesting, though desultory debate immediately ensued; a debate too much connected with the subsequent transactions on the Union, not to be particularly noticed in this stage of the history.

The Recorder of, and Member for, Dublin, Sir Samuel Brad-

street, a strong-minded, public-spirited man, an able lawyer, and independent Member of Parliament; of a rough, decisive, firm deportment, was the first who ventured to insinuate his dissent from the Address, and his suspicions of the Duke's sincerity. He entirely objected to that sweeping clause of Mr. Grattan's Address—"That all "constitutional questions between the two countries were at an end." He stated that many were not yet touched upon,—many that were vital to Irish independence still remained unnoticed; for he insisted that the Irish Parliament actually sat at that moment under an English Statute; and that the Address, as moved, was in some instances premature,—in others too comprehensive,—in all, defective. Subsequent events have since proved the soundness and the acuteness of his judgment and his foresight.

Mr. Flood said but a few words, and they were rather insinuating than insisting on his dissent. He started some difficulties on the subject of external legislation. He expressed his opinion, that matters were not yet sufficiently advanced to form a decided judgment upon the extent and modifications of the proposed arrangements; but it was obvious that this great man was neither confident nor satisfied, and that he conceived, that though the chief demand had been made and that grant acceded to, yet that it would require profound consideration, and a steady comprehensive system, to secure the tenure. He publicly anticipated nothing; but his own want of faith in the British Cabinet was obvious and comprehensive.

Mr. David Walshe, a strong-minded pertinacious lawyer,

courageous and not conciliating, was a still more determined sceptic. He had a clear head, a suspicious perverse mind, and a temper that never would overstretch itself to meet pacific projects. He debated well, but was too intemperate to acquire or maintain a general popularity. A part of his speech on this memorable night is also of great importance. He followed Sir Samuel Bradstreet on the point of external legislation, and concluded with these remarkable expressions:—

"I repeat it, that until England declares unequivocally, by an act "of her own legislature, that she had no right, in any instance, to "make laws to bind Ireland, the usurped power of English legislation "never can be considered by us as relinquished. We want not the "concessions of England to restore us our liberties. If we are true to "ourselves, we possess the fortitude; we possess the will; and, thank "God, we possess the power, to assert our rights as men, and "accomplish our independence as a nation."

The gauntlet of debate was now thrown down.—The vital question was started;—England was put on her defence, and Ireland on her trial.

The great point of confirming the Irish independence and Constitution, being once started, never could be relinquished; it must be decided: the suspicion of English sincerity once raised, must be satisfied—and it appeared in a moment, that Mr. Grattan's address could never be considered either secure or conclusive. But even those who thought so, did not conceive that the moment had as yet arrived when that subject should be so warmly discussed.

Those who feared that a difference at so early a period might defeat all their expectations, chose rather to accede to an address they did not approve of, than hazard a disunion which might never be remedied.

Mr. Yelverton strongly recommended unanimity at that moment. It seemed, for prudential reasons, to be the general wish; and Mr. Walshe had withdrawn his opposition, when Mr. Fitzpatrick, the Viceroy's secretary, artfully seized on the moment of inconsiderate gratitude, and threw out a defiance to those who endeavoured to diminish its unanimity. This, to such a temper as Mr. Walshe's, had the effect intended, of causing a division—and the skilful secretary succeeded in his object.

On the division, the Recorder and Mr. Walshe alone divided on the minority, and Mr. Grattan's address was triumphantly carried, with all its imperfections—and a short period proved that these imperfections were neither few nor unimportant. The House adjourned, amidst the universal acclamations of the ignorant and credulous people; and the constitutional arrangements between the two countries were fatally supposed, from the tenour of the speech and the address, to have been entirely and for ever arranged to their mutual satisfaction.

It is here proper to pause, and reflect upon the embarrassing situation into which this day's debate had thrown both nations;—an embarrassment which, since that day, has never yet completely terminated.

The transcendant merits of Mr. Grattan, the unparallelled brilliancy of his language, in moving the declaration of rights, his firmness and his patriotism, had raised him above all his countrymen. That declaration, it was believed, had restored the liberties of his country, and given him a just claim to all the rewards and honours which even the glowing gratitude of that country could confer upon him. But, unfortunately, his own honesty led him to a mistaken confidence in that of others. The courtly patriotism of Earl Charlemont, always inclining him to a blind principle of conciliation, had its influence on Mr. Grattan, who was a statesman, great in principle, but inefficient in detail; and the moderation of Lord Charlemont was not ineffective nor merely passive, when restraining the vigour of a mind, that seemed to be created to think greatly and act decidedly, only upon great and decisive occasions.

CHAPTER II.

The Credulity of the Country Gentlemen of Ireland—The deceptious Objects of the Government—Mr. Bagenal—His great Eccentricities and extraordinary Character—Some curious Anecdotes of that Gentleman—He gives Notice of a Motion to reward Mr. Grattan—Deceived by the plausibility of the Duke of Portland—His Speech and anti-prophetic Observations—Bills to repeal the 6th Geo. I. and concede to the Claim of Independence of Ireland, passed precipitantly by the British Legislature—Fears and Responsibility of Ministers—Mr. Bagenal proposes a Grant of 100,000*l.* by Parliament, without any previous Consent or Recommendation of the Crown, to purchase an Estate for Mr. Grattan—Mr. Grattan wishes to decline it—Motion of Mr. Conolly, by the direction of the Duke of Portland, to grant the Viceroy's Palace, and a corresponding Pension, to Mr. Grattan and his Heirs for ever, insidiously intended by the Duke to supersede the popular Grant proposed by Mr. Bagenal—The Motion unprecedented, rejected by the House in silence, and a Sum of 50,000*l.* immediately voted unconditionally to Mr. Grattan as a Reward for his Patriotism—Chagrin of Colonel Fitzpatrick—Sketch of his Character—His indiscreet Speech—Developes the Jealousy and Deceptions of Government—The Irish Nation calumniated—Objects of the Volunteers misrepresented—Ireland defended from the Charge of indigenous Disloyalty—Historic Anecdotes of the earliest Periods disprove the Imputation—The Loyalty of the Irish and English Nations compared.

It is as extraordinary as it is true, that the weaknesses and foibles of Irish character were more strikingly displayed during this important discussion, than upon any former occasion. A generous, ardent, credulous, unstatesmanlike sensibility, appeared to have seized upon the

whole assembly; and even the natural quickness of perception and acuteness of intellect which the Members of that House displayed on ordinary and trivial subjects, seemed totally to have forsaken them during this memorable debate—of more vital importance to the nation than any other that had ever taken place in the Irish Parliament.

The Country Gentlemen of Ireland, at all times bad casuists, and worse lawyers, appeared on this occasion to close both their ears and eyes, and to resign, with one accord, all exercise of judgment and discrimination. The word "unanimity" operated as a talisman amongst them, and silenced all objections. The very important observations of Sir Samuel Bradstreet and of Mr. Walshe were hardly listened to with patience. Mr. Flood himself seemed to be overwhelmed and manacled; and those axioms and that reasoning which were ultimately acceded to and adopted even by the British Ministers themselves, were on this night considered as a species of treason against the purity of the British Government, and the sincerity of the Irish Viceroy. No voice but that of congratulation, joy, and confidence, could make itself heard. No suspicions durst be suggested,—no murmurs durst be uttered. The scene was new to Ireland; and exultation took precedence for a time of both reason and reflection.

Mr. Bagenal, representative for Carlow County, so soon as the flurry of mutual congratulations had a little subsided in the House, proposed a measure well adapted to the circumstances of that moment, and most happily coincident with the sentiments of the people. How far it had been premeditated, or arose from the impulse of the moment,

no person acquainted with the character and eccentricities of Mr. Bagenal could possibly determine.

He was one of those persons, who, born to a large inheritance, and having no profession to interrupt their propensities, generally made in those times the grand tour of Europe, as the finishing part of a gentleman's education. Mr. Bagenal followed the general course; and on that tour had made himself very conspicuous. He had visited every capital of Europe, and had exhibited the native original character of the Irish gentleman at every place he visited. In the splendour of his travelling establishment, he quite eclipsed the petty potentates with whom Germany was garnished. His person was fine—his manners open and generous—his spirit high—and his liberality profuse. During his tour, he had performed a variety of feats which were emblazoned in Ireland, and endeared him to his countrymen. He had fought a prince—jilted a princess—intoxicated the Doge of Venice—carried off a duchess from Madrid—scaled the walls of a convent in Italy—narrowly escaped the Inquisition at Lisbon;—concluded his exploits by a celebrated fencing match at Paris; and he returned to Ireland, with a sovereign contempt for all Continental men and manners, and an inveterate antipathy to all despotic kings and arbitrary governments.

Domesticated in his own mansion at Dunleckny—surrounded by a numerous and devoted tenantry—and possessed of a great and productive territory, Mr. Bagenal determined to spend the residue of his days on his native soil, according to the usages and customs of country

gentlemen—and he was shortly afterwards returned a representative to Parliament for the county of Carlow, by universal acclamation.

Though Mr. Bagenal did not take any active part in the general business of the Irish Parliament, he at least gave it a good example of public spirit and high-minded independence. His natural talents were far above mediocrity; but his singularities, in themselves extravagant, were increased by the intemperance of those times; and an excellent capacity was neutralized by inordinate dissipation. Prodigally hospitable, irregular, extravagant, uncertain, vivacious; the chace, the turf, the sod, and the bottle, divided a great portion of his intellects between them, and generally left, for the use of Parliament, only so much as he could spare from his other occupations.

However, in supporting the independence and prosperity of Ireland, he always stood in the foremost ranks.

On every important occasion he evinced a sincere and firm attachment to the rights and prosperity of his country. He had studied what was called the point of honour; and no man understood the rules and punctilios of private combat* so well as Mr. Bagenal.

* The following anecdote affords a fair sample of Mr. Bagenal's eccentricities. He at one time took occasion, without cause, to quarrel with, and challenge, Mr. Bagenal Harvey (who was very much his junior), afterwards Commander-in-Chief of the Leinster Rebel Army, and executed at Wexford.

Mr. Bagenal stood Harvey's fire, and immediately cried out to him, "You d——d "young villain, you had like to have killed your godfather." Harvey, who had been

And though his over-readiness, at all times, to put his science into practice, frequently placed him in situations of difficulty, his spirit and singularities never failed to extricate him with success. Amongst the people he was beloved—amongst the gentry he was popular—amongst the aristocracy he was dreaded.

Liberal and friendly, but obstinate and refractory, above all his contemporaries, he had a perfect indifference for the opinions of the world, when they at all differed from his own; and he never failed to perform whatever came uppermost in his thoughts, with the most perfect contempt as to the notions which might be formed either of his rectitude or impropriety.

He was one of the first country gentlemen who raised a volunteer regiment in the county of Carlow. He commanded several military corps, and was one of the last volunteer colonels in Ireland who could be prevailed upon to discontinue the reviews of their regiments*; or to relinquish that noble, patriotic, and unprecedented institution.

ignorant of the latter fact, seemed surprised. "Yes, you dog," said Bagenal, "or "your own father, for any thing I know to the contrary. I only wanted to try if you "were brave. Go to Dunleckny and order breakfast:—I shall be home directly."

* The Author was present, in 1780, at a review of the Volunteers of Carlow and Kilkenny in the demesne of Dunleckny. Mr. Bagenal was the reviewing officer. He passed up the lines in an open carriage, with a bottle of claret in one hand, and a large glass in the other, drinking the health of the saluting officers.

He then ordered all the Commanders of corps to surround him, who, instead of hearing a military harangue as they had expected, were commanded each to take off a

However, he was, on this occasion, as short-sighted as he was credulous. He could see nothing but sincerity in the Viceroy, honour in the British Cabinet, and an eternal cordiality between the two nations; and before the constitutional arrangement was well begun, he fancied it was completely concluded. His admiration of Mr. Grattan was unqualified and extravagant; and it was with an honest zeal and pure sincerity he rose to propose a measure, at that period the most popular and gratifying to the Irish nation.

Having passed many eulogiums on Mr. Grattan's services to Ireland, he gave notice of an intended motion, "that a Committee "should be appointed, to consider and report what sum the Irish "Parliament should grant, to build a suitable mansion and purchase "an estate for their great deliverer."

In prefacing this notice, Mr. Bagenal, full of candour and credulity, used some expressions, so unfortunately anti-prophetic, as to render them worthy of marked observation. He said, that Mr.

tumbler of claret to the health of the Volunteers of Ireland, and give three cheers to her independence. The effect may be well conceived.

After the review, he entertained the entire of the corps in his demesne, and had a ball for the officers in the house. As the men were deprived of their officers, and had no limits prescribed them as to wine, or time, early the next morning the demesne exhibited much the appearance of a field of battle. Drowsy or sleeping volunteers were seen bivouacking all over the park, with here and there the contents of a bottle of claret emptied on the grass, and combining altogether to form one of the most curious exhibitions which can be conceived, to persons not accustomed to the extraordinary habits of those days of dissipation.

Grattan had saved the empire from an iron age, and unequivocally restored a golden one to his own country for ever. " By our " affectionate alliance with Great Britain, we shall not only be " benefited ourselves, but shall see a beloved sister revive from her " misfortunes. This great man has crowned the work for ever; " under his auspices the throne of freedom is fixed on a basis so " firm, and which will always be so well supported by the influence " the people must acquire under his system, that, with the help of " God, there is no danger, even of Parliament itself ever being " able to shake it; nor shall any Parliament be ever again " profanely styled omnipotent."

Mr. Grattan attempted to make some observations, but his voice was drowned in the general applause; and the House adjourned without further observations.

Mr. Grattan now alone occupied the entire hearts of the people.

They had no room for any other individual. Almost frantic with gratitude to their deliverer, they cried out, that the doctrines of Molyneux had triumphed in the same place where they had before been consigned to infamy; and a torrent of popularity burst upon Mr. Grattan, in a profusion which never before had rushed from the Irish people. But the day of those pure and lofty feelings has passed away. A broken-down constitution seldom recovers its pristine elasticity; and that enthusiastic, proud, patriotic spirit which signalized the Irish nation in 1782, driven to its tomb by

misrule and by misfortune, can never rise again but on some congenial crisis.

The British Ministry and Parliament now began to feel their own weakness. Their intolerance degenerated into fear; and responsibility began to stare them in the face. The loss of America had been got over by their predecessors without an impeachment; but that of Ireland would not have passed over with the same impunity. The British Cabinet had already signed the capitulation, and thought it impossible to carry it too soon into execution. Bills to enact the concessions demanded by Ireland were therefore prepared with an expedition nearly bordering on precipitancy. The 6th of George the First, declaratory of, and establishing the supremacy of England, and the eternal dependence of Ireland on the Parliament and Cabinet of Great Britain, was now hastily repealed, without debate, or any qualification by the British Legislature. This repeal received the royal assent, and a copy was instantly transmitted to the Irish Viceroy, and communicated by circulars to the volunteer commanders*.

* CAP. LIII.

An Act, to repeal an Act made in the Sixth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King George the First, intituled, An Act for the better securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain.

Whereas, an Act was passed in the Sixth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King George the First, intituled, An Act for the better securing the Dependency of the

Thus, the doctrine of Blackstone, that venerated Druid of English jurisprudence, who by his dictum had tried to seal the slavery of the Irish people, was surrendered as unconstitutional, and renounced by the very same Legislature that had enacted it. As England drooped, Ireland raised her head; and for a moment she was arrayed with all the exterior insignia of an independent nation.

On the 30th of May, 1782, Mr. Bagenal resumed the subject of the reward to Mr. Grattan; and after a short, but animated speech, moved that "100,000*l.* should be granted by Parliament, to purchase "an estate, and build a suitable mansion, as the reward of gratitude "by the Irish nation, for his eminent services to his country." No Member could directly oppose a measure so merited, so popular, and so honourable to the nation. No absolute murmur was heard; but the magnitude of the sum gave rise to many incidental observations; and some friends of Mr. Grattan endeavoured to impress the House with the idea that he was altogether adverse to the measure, and conceived that his honours and gratification would be greater by the feeling of

Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain; May it please Your Most Excellent Majesty, that it may be enacted, and be it enacted, by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, that from and after the passing of this Act, the above-mentioned Act, and the several Matters and Things therein contained, shall be, and is, and are hereby repealed.

having served his country, without other rewards than that arising from its pure and unsophisticated enjoyment.

This idea in modern times, and under Mr. Grattan's peculiar circumstances, was considered less the result of a true pride than of a patriotic vanity. Roman precedents were not applicable to Ireland; and his paternal estates were not sufficiently ample to support so distinguished a man in the dignity of his station. The wisest friends of Mr. Grattan, however, considered such a grant not as a mercenary recompence, but the reward of patriotic virtue, conferred by the gratitude of a nation to elevate a deliverer. A smothered diversity of opinion seemed to exist upon that subject, but none durst interrupt the general feeling, or breathe an open dissent from so just and popular a measure.

While the House seemed to hesitate as to the wisest course of carrying the proposed grant into immediate execution, a most unexpected circumstance took place, which, though in its results of no important consequence, forms one of the most interesting anecdotes of Irish events, developes the insidious artifices to which the Government resorted, and forms an episode without a precedent in ancient or modern annals.

Mr. Thomas Conolly, who, as a leading member of the Whig Party, had entirely connected himself with the Duke of Portland; and though not holding any ministerial office, was a Privy Councillor, and considered to be particularly confidential in the councils of the Viceroy, rose; and after many eulogiums upon Mr. Grattan's unparallelled

services to Ireland, he stated, "That the Duke of Portland felt equally "with the Irish people, the high value of those services; and that he "was authorized by the Lord Lieutenant to express, in the strongest "terms, the sense he entertained of the public virtue of Mr. Grattan, "and of his eminent and important services to Ireland: and as the "highest proof he could give of his admiration and respect for that "distinguished personage, he (the Lord Lieutenant) begged to offer, "as a part of the intended grant to Mr. Grattan, the Viceregal Palace "in the Phœnix Park, to be settled on Mr. Grattan and his heirs for "ever, as a suitable residence for so meritorious a person."

The King's Viceroy, the delegated representative of His Britannic Majesty, offering to a private individual a grant for ever of the King's best palace in Ireland, was repugnant to the principle of all Monarchical Governments; while Mr. Bagenal's proposal of a grant by the House of Commons, as a reward for the public services of one of their own independent Members, appeared to the Viceroy as making the People every thing and the Administration nothing. He saw clearly, that the public spirit was irresistible, and that the grant must pass; and he determined, at any sacrifice, to give it a tinge of ministerial generosity, and thereby deaden, as much as possible, the brilliancy and effect of a popular proceeding. He knew that if his proposal through Mr. Conolly should be accepted, the grant would have very considerably changed its democratic complexion,—the Prerogative would be somewhat preserved, and Mr. Grattan no longer considered as deriving his reward exclusively from the gratitude of his countrymen:—the Crown

would have its share in a claim to his acknowledgments; and thus the merit of the favour be divided between the people and the minister.

This magnificent and unexampled offer, at first view, appeared flattering and showy; at the second, it appeared deceptious; and at the third, inadmissible. Delicacy prevented any debate on the subject; and it would have died away without remark or observation, and have been rejected by a judicious silence, had not the indiscretion of Colonel Fitzpatrick betrayed the whole feeling and duplicity of the Government, and opened the eyes of many to the jealousy and designs of His Grace's administration. Though the Secretary was extremely disposed to serve Mr. Grattan individually, the entire failure of the plan, and the frigid manner in which the Royal offer had been received on every side, hurt his official pride, and affected him extremely. He recollected his ministry, but forgot his discretion; and he could no longer restrain himself from some observations equally ill-timed and injudicious.

Colonel Fitzpatrick was the brother of the Earl of Upper Ossory. Though not an expert diplomatist, he was well selected to make his way amongst the Irish gentry, and consequently carry into effect the objects of the British ministers, and the deceptions of the Duke of Portland. He was ingenuous and convivial; friendly and familiar; and theoretically honest, even in politics. His name was musical to the ear of that short-sighted community (the Irish gentry), and his casual indiscretions in Parliament were kindly attributed to his undesigning nature; and of all qualities, an appearance of unguarded

openness is most imposing upon the Irish people. But the office of a Minister or of a Secretary is too well adapted to alter, if not the nature, at least the habits of a private gentleman; and, as a matter of course, he relinquishes his candour when he commences his diplomacy.

Whatever his individual feelings might have been as Colonel Fitzpatrick, it is impossible that in his capacity of Secretary, Mr. Bagenal's motion could have given him any gratification. He declared, that "he conceived the power of rewarding eminent men was one of "the noblest of the Royal Prerogatives, which were certainly a part of "the Constitution. He did not wish to be considered as giving a sullen "acquiescence, but he conceived that marks of favour of this nature "always appertained to the Crown alone, and he should have wished "that this grant had come from the Royal hand; but, as the man "was unprecedented, so was the grant; and he hoped this would not "be considered as a precedent on future occasions."

By these few, but comprehensive observations of the Secretary, the apparently magnificent liberality of the Viceroy appeared in its real character, and dwindled into a narrow subterfuge of ministerial jealousy. Mr. Conolly appeared to have travelled out of his station, and officiously to have assumed the office of a Minister, for a deceptious purpose, and lent himself to a little artifice, to trepan the Parliament and humiliate the people.

By this rejected tender the Whig Administration gained no honour, and evinced a disposition to humble the Crown without

elevating the people, and to wind the laurels of both around their own brows.

The Viceroy considered a grant by the Commons too democratic; and the Parliament considered the Viceroy's tender too ministerial. Mr. Grattan was a servant of the Irish people, and was utterly unconnected with the British Government. In every point of view, therefore, the Viceroy's offer, at that moment, was improper, and derogatory alike to the Crown and the individual. The Viceroy of Ireland proposing to her great patriot to reward his services for having emancipated his country from the fetters of Great Britain, was an incident as extraordinary as had ever occurred in the policy of any Cabinet; and, emanating from that of England, told, in a single sentence, the whole history of its terrors, its jealousy, and its artifice.

This proposal was linked with many other insidious objects, but they were too obvious to be successful, and only disclosed that shallow cunning which is not an unfrequent companion of meanness and duplicity. His Excellency had perceived in Ireland the phenomena of a governing people, without a ruling democracy,—an armed and unrestrained population, possessing, without abusing, the powers of Sovereignty, and turning their authority, not to the purposes of turbulence or sedition, but to those of Constitution, order, and tranquillity. These armed Associations, however irreproachable in their conduct, were unprecedented in their formation, and were considered by His Grace with a lively jealousy, as tending to establish a species of

popular aristocracy, dangerous to the very nature of the British Constitution.

Many friends of Mr. Grattan, or those who professed to be so, declared he would not accept of so large a sum as that proposed by Mr. Bagenal; but this was a mistaken, or an affected view of that subject. The grant itself, not its amount, was the only point for dignified consideration. However, after a considerable discussion, it was diminished, by Mr. Grattan's friends, to the sum of fifty thousand pounds, which was unanimously voted to him; and never had a reward, more merited or more honourable, been conferred on any patriot by any nation.

The times when civic crowns conferred sufficient honours no longer existed; but property had become essential for the preservation of importance in society. The Irish Parliament had before them then, a sad and recent example of the necessity of such a reward, in the fate of Dr. Lucas, one of the best friends of Ireland, who had sacrificed himself to support his principles: a man who had, so far as his talents admitted, propagated and applied the doctrines of the great Molyneux; and, like him, was banished—and, like him, declared a traitor;—who had sat a Representative for the Metropolis of Ireland; and whose statue at that moment adorned the interior of the Royal Exchange of Dublin: a venerable Senator, sinking under the pressure of years and of infirmity, carried into their House to support its liberties,—sickening in their cause,

and expiring in their service; a rare example of patriotism and independence; yet suffered to die in indigence, and leave an orphan offspring to become the prey of famine. With such a reproachful warning before the nation, it was for the people, not for the Crown, to take care that they never should be again disgraced by similar ingratitude. In these degenerate times, honours give no sustenance; and in the perverted practices of modern policy, it is not the province of the Monarch to reward the patriot.

Upon every important debate on the claims of Ireland, in the British and Imperial Parliaments, the native character and political propensities of the Irish people have been uniformly made a subject of animated discussion; and the conduct and loyalty of that Nation have been put directly in issue, by both her friends and her enemies;—by the latter, as a pretext for having crushed her by severity, and abrogated her Constitution; by the former, as a defence against calumnious exaggeration: and each party assert, that the past events of Irish history justify their reasoning, and afford ample evidence of their respective allegations. But as her enemies exaggerate her errors, so her friends may over-rate her merits, and by zeal and hyperbole diminish the credit of their own narrations.

It is, therefore, at this important crisis, imperatively required, that this heated controversy of opinions and assertions, as to the loyalty of the Irish people, should be decided by unequivocal matters of fact, undeniable by either party; and thereby, that the true principles of a

people, who form a powerful integral portion of the British Empire, should be no longer mistaken nor misrepresented.

A reference to the authentic Annals and Records of Irish History, indisputably proves that the unrelenting cruelties and misrule of their British Governors in early ages, goading the wretched natives to insurrection, formed the first pretext for afterwards branding them with an imputation of indigenous disloyalty, thereby exciting an inveterate prejudice against the Irish people; which, becoming hereditary, has descended, though with diminished virulence, from father to son throughout the English nation.

These calumnies had their full and fatal operation, as an argument in urging the necessity of a Legislative Union; an argument at once refuted by reference even to the modern events of 1782, and to the unexampled moderation, forbearance, and loyalty of the Irish nation, who sought only a full participation in the British Constitution, though the moral and physical powers of that ardent people were then consolidated by their patriotism, and rendered irresistible by their numbers, their discipline, and their energy.

At that awful crisis of the British Empire, the Irish were an armed and triumphant people; England a defeated and trembling nation. Ireland was in the bloom of energy and of vigour; England on the couch of discomfiture and malady. And if the spirit of indigenous disaffection, so falsely imputed to the Irish Nation, had, in reality, existed, she had then full scope, and ample powers, to pursue and effect all its dispositions for an eternal separation.

It is not, however, by modern or isolated events alone, that a fair judgment can be formed of the characteristic attributes of any nation; still less so of a worried and misgoverned people. It is only by recurring to remoter periods, thence tracing, step by step, the conduct of Ireland throughout all her provocations, her miseries, and her persecutions, and then comparing the extent of her sufferings, her endurance, and her loyalty, with those of her sister countries during the same periods, that the true character of either can be justly appreciated, and those calumnies which have weighed so heavily on her reputation be effectually refuted *.

* It is a matter of indisputable fact, that during the twenty reigns which succeeded the first submission of the Irish Princes, the fidelity of Ireland to the British monarchs was but seldom interrupted, and that Irish soldiers were not unfrequently brought over to England, to defend their English sovereigns against the insurrections of English rebels.

But when we peruse the authenticated facts of British annals during the same twenty reigns, we find an unextinguishable spirit of disaffection to their princes, and that an insatiable thirst for rebellion and disloyalty signalized every reign, and almost every year of British history, during the same period; that above thirty civil wars raged within the English nation;—four of their monarchs were dethroned; three of their kings were murdered—and during four centuries, the standard of rebellion scarcely ever ceased to wave over some portion of that distracted island; and so deeply had disloyalty been engrafted in the very nature of the British nobles and British people, that insurrection and regicide, if not the certain, were the probable consequences of every coronation.

This important statement of English history is authenticated by those of every historian of both nations, from the earliest periods down to that memorable era, when

It appears, therefore, not only expedient but just, to introduce to the notice of Great Britain, thus early, recorded facts and historic events of both countries, of undisputed truth, which may vindicate the Irish character from those malignant charges to which the ignorance and prejudices of the British people have heretofore given credence. The eyes of England will at length be directed to the observance of these events, and of those of British history during concurrent periods. They will thus be convinced that there have ever lurked within the bosom of Great Britain herself the germs of a disquietude more unremitting—a licentiousness more inflammatory—a fanaticism more intolerant—and a political agitation more dangerous and unjustifiable, than any which even her most inveterate foes can justly extract from an impartial history of the libelled country.

Though this may be considered a digression, it will have the advantage of illustrating the principles which led to the transactions of 1798 and 1800, those gloomy epochs of Irish calamity; and will prove to the English nation, that those men are the most injurious to the general tranquillity of the state—the collective power of the united

British fanatics led to the scaffold, as a traitor and a felon, one of the mildest of their monarchs,—abrogated the very name of royalty;—renounced that allegiance which they had sworn to maintain;—tore down their throne without erecting liberty on its ruins; surrendered monarchy to a usurper,—religion to hypocrisy, and desolated Ireland by fire and sword and famine—because she pertinaciously defended her King against republicans and regicides.

nations—and the safety of the common weal—whose prejudices and bigotry lead them by wanton irritation to engender an uncongenial feeling in so powerful, ardent, and generous a portion of the British empire.

The Irish annals, though more imperfect, can be traced farther back than those of England. Ancient records, and other evidence of a most indisputable nature, of the eighth and preceding centuries, prove that in the earliest ages Ireland had been the seat of literature, of arts, and of refinement; and scarcely a year passes over without discovering strong proofs of her former wealth and magnificence*. She first degenerated under the invasion of northern barbarians;

* Some English writers, of the best authority, from the fourth to the eighth century, acknowledge the high state of learning and civilization, which existed in Ireland during the early ages; and numerous works and manuscripts now in the Vatican and the Royal Library at Paris, put the truth of that fact beyond all question. The variety and exquisite workmanship of ornaments and weapons of solid gold, still occasionally found buried in the bogs of Ireland, leave no doubt that great metallic wealth and superior skill once existed in that country, and that some of the arts were cultivated there to an almost unexampled perfection. The author has seen a solid piece of virgin gold, found in one of the Wicklow gold mines,—about twenty-eight miles from Dublin,—larger than a racket ball, and a great quantity of smaller dimensions. The mines extend many miles up the bed of a shallow stream, springing from the cliffs in the mountains. And an Irish statute in the reign of Henry the Fourth, prohibiting the native Irish from using gold stirrups and bridles, is a convincing proof that, even since the English invasion, sumptuary laws were judged

and while England profited by the intercourse of her great and accomplished conquerors, Ireland had retrograded under the ignorance and brutality of hers.

By the great battle of Howth, her Danish tyrants were at length exterminated, and Ireland was gradually recovering her original prosperity, when she found that she had only changed the name, not the nature of her slavery.

It was at this commencement of her convalescence, and before the Irish Monarch had as yet been able to reform the chiefs or re-establish his authority, that a band of adventurers, headed by Stiguel Strongbow, a British nobleman, abetted by the subtlety and practices of a vicious native chieftain, the treacherous Mac Murrough *, landed in

proper to restrain the remaining tendency to profuse splendour, among the Irish chieftains.

A Scottish writer, whose clear and condensed style as an historian is justly celebrated, but whose errors and prejudices are too obvious to be questioned, (Mr. Hume,) represents Ireland as being from its origin enveloped in a cloud of ignorance and barbarity; whilst an English writer, one of the most elegant ornaments, and credible authorities of British literature (Goldsmith), says, that there exist " too many proofs of the learning, piety, and even refinement of the aboriginal Irish, to leave any question of doubt upon that subject."

* Mac Murrough, one of the Provincial Princes of Ireland, was the first Irishman who, for his own ambitious purposes, introduced the English into Ireland, under the command of Geoffry Prendergast and Stiguel Strongbow,—able,—determined,—hypocritical,—unprincipled,—persevering men. After Mac Murrough had betrayed his country, he lost all weight and reputation, and then endeavoured to cultivate the Priests, in hopes, through

Ireland, with a view to mend their fortunes by conquest, or by treachery.

Earl Strongbow found in Ireland a powerful but a disjointed people, who, though they had regained their independence, were still divided by jealous factions,—enfeebled by civil warfare, and dispirited by the dread of recurring contests. He found it a worn down, palsied nation, well adapted to become a prey to the impression of arms, or the wiles of treachery. He was lavish in the use of both. She struggled much with these disciplined adventurers; but her vigour had been exhausted in her contests, or paralyzed by her slavery; and,—though occasionally victorious,—her energy had declined, and her powers were but intermitting. As her strength failed, her terrors augmented; and she was finally induced to listen to the deceptious representations of Strongbow and Mac Murrough; and after an ineffectual resistance she fell beneath the mingled pressure of arms and of seduction. At a conference in 1170, her Chieftains were told—nearly in the same words which disgraced her Parliament in 1800,—that there could be no remission of her internal feuds, no protection against future massacres, but by a voluntary sacrifice of that mischievous and agitating independence, which she had so uselessly enjoyed, and was so unavailingly contending for: but that, if united to the flourishing and powerful realm of Britain, its benevolent and potent Monarch would then find it to be the interest of

them, of regaining some temporal influence; in this he failed, and expired of chagrin, or, as some say, by suicide. All historians are justly severe on this renegado Irishman.

His Empire to arrest all her feuds, revive her splendour, and promote her prosperity.

The spirit of national independence still lingered in the country, but her heart was broken; and the melancholy recollection of feuds, of defeats, and misfortunes, made a powerful impression on the jealous and divided leaders. Mac Murrough's treachery had destroyed all confidence amongst the Princes—discord had torn the Royal Standard of the Irish Monarch—the Chieftains had no general rallying station to collect their powers—they submitted to the invaders, and each stipulated for himself, and influenced his Kernes* to a reluctant capitulation.

The choice of difficulties and dangers, or of rewards and honours, was held out to the most obdurate opponents of British annexation. Some leaders were gained by specious promises of territory;

* Kernes were a species of followers who attended the Irish Chieftains, ready to execute any business to which their patrons might order them. The Chief generally gained importance with the Monarch in proportion to the number of Kernes he could produce, when the King had occasion for their assistance; and whenever a Chief made *terms* for himself, he generally stipulated for his *Kernes* into the bargain.

They despised any industrious mode of getting their livelihood; and generally lived in a state of dependence on their Chiefs, or by plunder of the public. This race seems not to have been totally extinct in Ireland, in 1800, though they then existed under a superior denomination. *See the Fac Simile of Mr. Robert Crowe's Letter, annexed to this volume,* respecting Lord Castlereagh's *treaty* with the Earl of Belvidere, to purchase Messrs. Knox and Crowe (two of his Lordship's members): Witnessed by the Rev. Mr. Usher, his Lordship's chaplain,—*littera scripta manent.*

many were beguiled by the assurance of protection; and a large portion of the chieftains at length yielded to the sway of a British sceptre.

But this submission never was unanimous. Many who would have resisted it to the last extremity, were dismayed and scattered;—many who retained the power to resist it, were terrified or corrupted:—and though the acquisition of the entire island appeared to have been effected by the adventurers, the appearance was fallacious. However, the English Strongbow gained great honours for his achievement,—the Irish Mac Murrough obtained great rewards for his treachery,—the adventurers were compensated at the expense of the natives: and the First Union of Ireland with Britain, in the year 1173, received a Royal Assent and consummation from the Second Henry.

It is very remarkable, that though the occurrences were so different—the persons so dissimilar—and the periods so remote,—the circumstances attending this first annexation of Ireland cannot be reflected on without the memory also recurring to the circumstances of the last. Though Cornwallis was not Strongbow—though Castlereagh was not Mac Murrough—though the Peers were not Princes,—and the Commons were not Kernes;—and though nearly seven centuries had intervened between the accomplishment of these unions, it is impossible not to recognise in their features a strong family resemblance.

Henry lost no time in repairing to the Irish metropolis, where,

in great state, he received the allegiance of his new but reluctant subjects; and feasted the Irish Princes in a style of magnificence and splendour unusual in those times. But his banquets were those of policy—his splendours were founded on contempt—and before the games and rejoicings which accompanied those celebrated feasts were yet entirely terminated, the beards of Irish Kings had been pulled by the vassals of the English monarch*.

Henry, on his return to England, soon perceived that the submission of such a people,—effected by such means,—could never be permanent; that his Irish sovereignty, if not actually precarious, must be inevitably embarrassing. He found that his narrow revenues were inadequate to the expenses of perpetual and desultory warfare; and truly conceived, that the most certain,—cheap,—and feasible mode of retaining his new subjects in due subjection, would be by fomenting the jealousies which had reduced them to his authority,—and aggravating those feuds which he had promised to extinguish; and thus, by

* Henry had a temporary palace erected on Hoghill (now St. Andrew Street), Dublin, where he entertained such Irish princes as acknowledged him for their liege lord. The singularity of their dress and manners were subjects of amusement and ridicule to Henry's courtiers. He entertained them on a feast of storks, a bird never eaten in Ireland, but considered as a luxury by the English. These banquets, which lasted nine days, ended without any permanent advantage to Henry. Most of the princes and chiefs considered themselves insulted by the familiarity of his followers, and returned home with a full determination to reassert their independence and resist his authority on the first favourable opportunity.

alternately fostering and depressing the contending factions, to embroil the proud chieftains in eternal contests, and leave them no leisure to reflect on his breach of faith, and no strength to regain their independence when they returned to their recollection.

This system of misrule, connecting a decrease of their resources with an increase of their ignorance, had then a powerful operation in keeping down the people; and even until this present and first really enlightened reign of the British monarchy, the same fundamental and favourite principle of governing Ireland had been invariably and effectively adopted by every king,—usurper,—and minister of England, for seven distracted centuries.

Henry having discovered—by experience—that his nominal kingdom of Ireland was likely to afford him, in the end, little more than a fertile desert, thinly sprinkled over with inveterate enemies; and that neither peace, nor strength, nor honour,—nor what to him was more important,—tribute,—was likely to be the produce of his newly-acquired territory, became indifferent to its state, and left it to its destiny.

The successors of Henry also perceiving that they possessed but a naked and consuming power, equally unprofitable and precarious, formed the better design of partially colonizing Ireland by English settlers; who, connecting themselves by affinity with the uncultivated natives, would improve their habits by intercourse and example, and gradually introduce a love of order, and a growing attachment to the English people.

This theory was plausible and meritorious; but the propensities of human nature were not calculated on in the execution; the project was merely abstract, and unconnected with any general system of wise or conciliatory government; and the attempt at colonization, instead of producing in the Irish a more congenial feeling, only confirmed their hatred—increased their powers, and became one of the keenest thorns that ever pierced the side of British governments.

There is something cordial,—open,—and joyous, in the native Irish character, which never fails to attract, and seldom to attach, strangers who reside amongst that people. Even their errors become attractive by protracted intercourse; and the habits, principles, and propensities of the host and of the domiciliated foreigner become quickly and almost imperceptibly assimilated.

This malady became almost epidemic amongst the colonists, whom the policy of England had vainly sent over to improve the people and tranquillize the country. On all important occasions, the new race evinced a more than ordinary attachment to the place of their settlement, and vied with the Irish in an inveterate hostility to the domination of their own compatriots; and in the direct descendants of those British colonists, England has since found many of the most able, distinguished, and persevering of her political opponents.

CHAPTER III.

Elizabeth succeeds to the English Throne—Her Character—Mr. Hume's Character of that Princess falsified by his Anecdotes of her Life—Project to exterminate the Aboriginal Irish—Biographical Sketch of Henry the Eighth—Mary and Elizabeth compared—Elizabeth authorises her officers to *torture* all suspected Irish—The Irish forced into Rebellion, by the Tyranny of Elizabeth's Officers, Carew and Mountjoy—Tyrone, his Character, Speech, and Insurrection—Similitude of Cruelties exercised in Ireland, in 1598 and 1798—The English rebel against Charles—The Irish remain loyal, and espouse his cause against the English Rebels—The Irish Royalists slaughtered without mercy, and the whole Island desolated by Cromwell—Massacre at Drogheda—Charles the Second—James the Second—The English rebel against James—The Irish remain loyal—William usurps the Throne—His Character—Invades Ireland—Historic Comparison of English and Irish Loyalty to their Kings—New Principles of Liberty introduced into the British Constitution, through William's Usurpation—The Benefits of that Revolution never extended to Ireland—Sanguinary Rebellions raised by the *Protestants* and Presbyterians of England and Scotland, in favour of a *Popish* Prince, in 1737, and 1745—Unshaken Loyalty of the Irish Catholics to a *Protestant* King during the same Periods—Insurrection in Ireland in 1798, political—First excited by the English and Scotch *Protestant* Societies—Not originating in Ireland—Not put down promptly by the English Government—The Reason—Policy of Mr. Pitt—Future dangers to England, by Lord Londonderry's being outwitted at Vienna—Ingratitude of the Powers of Europe to England—Superior Loyalty of the Irish people to the English Kings, on every occasion.

THE English monarchs, disappointed in this plausible project, perceived that colonization was a hopeless expedient, and became

more inveterate against "the degenerate English of the Pale," than against the aboriginal natives; and for some centuries, in every contest of the two nations, a full proportion of the British settlers, or of their descendants, fell by the executioner, or under the sword of their own countrymen. Through the same vicious policy, by which Ireland had been kept in perpetual warfare, it remained in a state of ignorance, misery, and turbulence, when Elizabeth, one of the most sagacious of rulers, and the most unprincipled of women, succeeded to the throne, and to the vices of her father.

Compared with later periods, Elizabeth's sphere of action was contracted.—Compared with modern times, her reign was a reign in miniature.—But at all times it would have been considered a reign of talent, and in all countries a reign of tyranny.

She was well adapted to rule over a nation, where, if she governed with success, she might govern despotically. The uncontrolled tyranny of her father,—and the unprecedented barbarities and fanaticism of her sister,—had prepared her subjects to admire any thing on their throne superior to a monster. The imbecility of her brother was contrasted with the vigour of her own intellect;—and she assumed the British sceptre, with all the advantages which experience and expectation could excite in a worried people.

Her reign is celebrated as the most glorious and admired era of British history; but, with all its merits, it owed much of its celebrity to the darkness of the times,—the habitual slavery of the people,—the sex of the monarch,—and the talents of the ministry. And Charles

afterwards lost his head upon the scaffold for assuming a small portion of that despotic rule which is eulogized by the biographers of his female predecessor.

The wisdom of Elizabeth was not the wisdom of philosophy. It was a deep and penetrating sagacity,—prompt,—vigilant,—and inflexible. The energy of her resolution, and her profound dissimulation, surmounted what her physical powers would have been unable to accomplish; at home, she was despotic—abroad, she was victorious;—by sea,—by land,—by negociation, she was every way successful. The external glory of England arose under her administration. Providence seemed to pardon her disregard of moral principles,—and to smile even upon the vices of this celebrated female. The people admired her, because she was a successful queen; and she liked the people, because they were submissive vassals. By the acuteness of her discrimination, she chose able ministers. They served her with fidelity, because they feared her anger,—and they flattered her vanities, because it prolonged her favour. But they served her at their peril; and she selected and sacrificed them with equal policy and equal indifference.

She affected learning, and she professed religion.—In the one she was a pedant without depth;—and in the other, she was a bigot without devotion.—She plundered her people to be independent of her parliaments;—and she bullied the parliaments to be independent of the people. She was frugal of their money, where she had no passion for expending it;—and she was generous to her favourites for her own gratification.

Magna Charta had been trampled on by a succession of tyrants. The principles of civil liberty had been forgotten in the country; and, throughout the whole course of her reign, Elizabeth assiduously laboured to retain her people in the most profound ignorance of constitutional freedom.

Her administration as to Ireland, where she experienced no restraint, gave the strongest proofs that she felt no compunctions. She had no feminine softness to moderate her cruelties;—no moral scruples to arrest her conscience;—no elevated generosity to contract her dissimulation. —Though she was mistress of the great qualities, she was a slave to the little ones*; and though the strength of her judgment somewhat

* Mr. Hume's life and character of Queen Elizabeth appear altogether irreconcileable to each other. In his delineation of her character, he states her to be a princess of the most "*magnanimous virtues.*" In the anecdotes of her life, he states her to have been guilty of as tyrannic,—cruel,—and treacherous actions as any crowned head (Richard excepted) that ever filled the throne of England. Amongst numerous other examples of her "*magnanimous virtues,*" Mr. Hume details her interview with the Lord Chancellor Bacon, when Her Majesty declared, with vehemence, that she would instantly order Mr. Hayward, an innocent, inoffensive man, to be put upon the *rack* and *tortured*, solely because he had translated some passages of Tacitus, which Her Majesty's ignorance of that author permitted her to suppose were Hayward's own composition,—and were intended to reflect upon herself.

After such an outline of cruelty, ignorance, and passion, it cannot be very difficult to fill up that part of her character. Mr. Hume's attempt to apologise for the general administration of Elizabeth certainly requires a very ample apology for himself. He says, "She did not always do what was *best*, but she did what was *usual*:"—the most *tyrannic* political principle ever avowed by any modern historian. What was "*best*," was her

restrained the progress of her vices, she was harsh, treacherous, and decisive; and even the spirit of murdered Mary could not appal her fortitude. The eyes of the people were closed by the brilliancy of her successes, and the crimes of the woman were merged in the popularity of the monarch. Such was the British princess, who first projected a partial extirpation of the aboriginal Irish; and she soon discovered the most deadly weapon to effect her purposes.

Her father, Henry, the Nero of British history, had assumed, as a pastime, the trade of a theologist; and changing his religion as often as he decapitated his consorts, at length settled his veering faith, by declaring himself a Reformist, with the most unqualified intolerance.

imperative *duty* as a Sovereign, what was "*usual*" (after the reigns of her father and her sister) must be the apology of a tyrant, sheltering the commission of crime under the protection of precedent. Mr. Hume might as justly excuse her errors by the precedent of the Emperor of Morocco, who makes the same apology for shooting one of his subjects every morning as a matter of amusement, *because it was usual.* Had some of Mr. Hume's miscellaneous essays been published in the reign of his favourite Elizabeth, the author certainly would have retracted, either on the rack, or among the faggots, every eulogium on her "magnanimous virtues."

As a further exemplification of Elizabeth's "magnanimous virtues," Mr. Hume states also, (vol. v. page 449) a letter of that Queen, to the Earl of Sussex, expressing her displeasure, that *proper severity* had not been exercised against some English insurgents, although it appeared, that his Lordship had *previously* hanged above *eight hundred* of them. However, this was lenient, in comparison with her orders to Carew and Mountjoy, as to their treatment of the Irish.

Theological disputes, after this important auxiliary to the Reformation, altogether divested the minds of men of the attributes of common reason; and the blackest enormities were considered as the most holy virtues, if they corresponded with the fanaticism of deluded imaginations.

Henry's sectarial unsteadiness had extended not only to his subjects, but to his children. Mary and Elizabeth had embraced adverse tenets with equal pertinacity; and the whole population of England plunged at once, under the cloak of religion, into the commission of the very crimes which were prohibited by its precepts; and the pastors of both professions zealously fomented the dreadful schisms of their respective fallacies, lest they should lose their own importance by the cessation of the controversy.

One moment of calm unbigotted reflection must have convinced every man, not only of the folly, but of the impiety of such controversies. The point was plain,—the dogma simple—that no human authority should controul man, as to his choice of what words he may utter,—what language he may adopt,—what posture he may choose, or what ceremonies he may practice, in the abstract act of piously supplicating the mercy of his Creator.

Common sense, however, had taken its flight from England; and the doctrines of Martin Luther—not a founder, but a Reformist, became the greatest scourge that had ever been laid in chastisement upon a sinful people.

His doctrines, which professed only to simplify the exercises of

Divine worship,—to purify religion from the dross with which it had amalgamated through priestcraft, to diminish the mysteries of Revelation, and reconcile the inconsistencies of Christian theories, instantly kindled a fanatic fire which enveloped in its flames the reason of mankind; and which, daily supplied with new fuel, has continued alternately smothering and blazing, and consuming, with an unextinguishable violence.

The incendiaries of modern times have preserved this destructive fire for their own purposes. They perceived that the return of reason must be the death of fanaticism, and that discord amongst a people would not long survive the extinction of religious prejudice, without the aid of some new excitement;—political feuds have been therefore cultivated, as theological ones were losing ground; and a novel and complicated system of discord has been invented, which, by artfully entangling the theory of politics with the theories of religion, and fallaciously affecting to render their combination inseparable, has perpetuated animosities which were declining with rapidity. And this culpable and insidious policy appears to have been most sedulously and successfully cultivated in Ireland.

Elizabeth, even in those early times, well knew the efficacy of this species of weapon, to inflame—to divide—and to conquer. The accession of her sister Mary had subjugated the throne of England to the most savage tyrant of modern history. Mary's fanaticism had altogether absorbed her understanding; and a sectarian quixotism so entirely perverted her reason, that she saw nothing truly; and the

most dreadful and sanguinary crimes appeared to her burning brain as the mandates of the Deity.

But the fantasies of bigotry made no such impression on the strong intellect of Elizabeth; and in the commission of her crimes, she well knew that she was criminal. Mary's were those of an intoxicating fanaticism, Elizabeth's those of policy and calculation; but Mary had neither glory nor talent, nor policy, to shade her vices, or palliate her enormities.

Henry, her father, had endeavoured to establish the Reformation by severity and injustice. Mary endeavoured to subvert it by excesses of the same description. Elizabeth determined not to reverse, but to change the application and locality of their system.

The Reformation (now fully established in England) furnished her with a weapon for the general subjugation of Ireland, more fatal and effective than the keenest sword which had been whetted by any of her predecessors for the same purpose.

Many of the later of the English settlers in Ireland had embraced the novel doctrines of Luther. The natives and the old English colonists adhered to the original faith.—This portion of the people, therefore, persecuted and stigmatised, sunk into ignorance; and, hunted down as outlaws, finding no protection but with their chiefs, and no instruction but from their clergy, naturally attached themselves to both with a savage fidelity. Elizabeth took advantage of every circumstance to attain her objects. The Reformation was not only proclaimed, but enforced in Ireland with unexampled rigor—

A few adopted,—most rejected,—but none comprehended it. Elizabeth having lighted the firebrand at both ends, tossed it amongst the people. The sects fought around it, and Elizabeth's officers gave out—"Reform"—as the watch-word of the combatants, and the pretext for extermination.

The contending factions massacred each other without mercy or compunction, and without any intelligible reason for their individual animosities.

The illiterate, famished, harrassed people, in the midst of blood and flame, naturally became alive to every feeling, and susceptible to every argument, which could shew them the way to even a prospect of alleviation. Their chiefs and their clergy were their only instructors, who in the wild,—strong,—persuasive language of their country, impressed in glowing figures on the shivering multitude, the excesses of their misery,—fired their irritable minds by a distant prospect of deliverance, and harrowed up all the feelings of hatred to their oppressors, which torture and famine had implanted in their bosoms.

Elizabeth proceeded systematically in her projects. She first ordered the performance of the Catholic worship to be forcibly prohibited in Ireland. She ordered the rack to be employed, and directed her officers to torture the suspected Irish*, whenever they

* This curious order of Queen Elizabeth remains still on record—*Peccata Hibernia.*—By her instructions to the Deputy of Munster (Carew) in 1598-9, on his going over to carry her exterminating schemes into execution in that country, she authorises her officers to "put *suspected* Irish to the *rack*, and to *torture* them when they should

might conceive it to be convenient. She ordered free quarters on the peasantry to gratify her soldiers, and rouse the natives to premature insurrections. Her executioners were ordered to butcher them without mercy. Religion was abolished by martial law *, and Divine worship prohibited under pain of death.

Harrassed by every mode that the ingenuity of oppression could inflict or dictate, the natives, already barbarised by servitude, became

find it *convenient.*"—Carew fulfilled her Majesty's instructions to their full extent, and at the conclusion of his government she had the satisfaction of finding that Munster was nearly depopulated.

* It is here well worthy of reflection, that the exercise of free quarters and martial law,—the suspension of all municipal courts of justice—the *discretional* application of the *torture* to *suspected* persons—executions in cold blood, and the various measures which Mountjoy and Carew, and the other officers of Elizabeth practised in Ireland by her authority in 1598–9, were again judged to be expedient, and were again resorted to with vigour in the years 1798–9, two hundred years after they had been practised by the ministers of Elizabeth. The ruinous misrule of Ireland for nearly two centuries—and the errors of Elizabeth's barbarous policy, are proved beyond all controversy by the extent of improvement in Ireland, and in the habits of the Irish people, in a very few years, under the mild and benevolent administration of James the First, her successor,—and the adoption by him of a system of government diametrically the reverse of that which had been practised by Elizabeth, proves that Ireland advanced more in loyalty, prosperity, and civilization, under a temperate and conciliating administration in a few years, than in four centuries of coercion and severity: a precedent which should never have been lost sight of by British ministers, but to which they seemed too long to have been either entirely blind, or criminally inattentive. Ireland never was governed, nor ever can be ruled, by any *coercive* system,—and those who think otherwise know little of her character.

savage by irritation; and at length the whole population, wrought up to frenzy, flew into resistance, and have been libelled as traitors to the British crown for asserting the indefeasible rights of human nature, and claiming the enjoyments of civil liberty, for which their allegiance to Elizabeth was only a "condition subsequent*."

The Earl of Tyrone, an Irish chieftain, though a man of crime, was also a man of great talents, and for those days a powerful leader. Skilful,—courageous,—and persevering,—he raised the standard of insurrection against the government of Elizabeth. He represented to the wretched natives in the animating colours of uncultivated eloquence, "The miseries they had been enduring under the tyranny "of their oppressors."

He presented to their view the proclamation of Elizabeth to extinguish for ever the religion of their ancestors. He told them, "that the power of endurance had arrived at its final limits—that "an attempt for their liberation, though unsuccessful, could not "even by its failure aggravate their miseries. That death would "be the worst they could experience by battle, and that death was "preferable to the slow tortures they were enduring,—the famine "under which they languished,—and the desolation of their families."

He impressed upon their heated minds, that "their lands were "overrun by foreign soldiers; their homes plundered or enjoyed by

* This principle, in less than a century afterwards, became an acknowledged maxim, and component part of the British constitution—yet was violated in Ireland by William, the same prince through whose usurpation it was established.

" the butchering bands of an English female; that their race of princes " had become a family of slaves, and their clergy had been executed as " the guiltiest felons:" and he invoked them, " in the name of their " country, by the memory of their ancestors, and the holiness of their " religion, to rise as one man, and liberate all from their tyrants." Nor can an impartial reader of Irish and English history deny that there was great crime in Elizabeth's government,—and much justice in Tyrone's representations.

The event was a general insurrection of the aboriginal natives, aided by a great number of the English settlers, who had become connected by affinity with the Irish chieftains. But in all such contests a multitude of naked insurgents, without arms,—without officers,—without any discipline or much subordination, without any of the necessary requisites, except courage and numbers, which could resist a trained and accoutred army, must naturally be defeated,—and, if defeated, have seldom reason to expect mercy from the conquerors; such was the fate of Tyrone and his followers.

At the conclusion of these dreadful campaigns, though the Irish people had been diminished by nearly a moiety, and though the entire of Ulster, and a great proportion of the other provinces, were confiscated to her Majesty*, Elizabeth had not sated the voracity of her

* A circumstantial account of this most sanguinary insurrection was afterward published under the immediate authority of the Queen. Though the *Peccata Hibernia*, as a history, cannot be an impartial one, yet there is a species of horrid candour runs through the pages of that Work which gives it altogether strong claims to a *partial* authenticity,

rancour. The chiefs had been reduced to beggary,—the clergy had been executed,—the people slaughtered,—their towns destroyed—their castles razed; yet still she felt that Ireland was not extinguished. Though under the weight of such an enormous pressure, the chiefs still breathed, but it was the breath of vengeance. The clergy were recruited from inveterate sources; and even the very name of England and Reformation was rendered detestable by the savage cruelties of Elizabeth's Reformers.

Similar efforts of that determined and indefatigable Princess to crush the Irish people were renewed, resisted, and persevered in during her long reign. Ireland appeared to Elizabeth as a country of Hydras; every head she severed produced a number of new enemies: she slaughtered and she burned, but she could not exterminate; and, at length, she expired, leaving Ireland to her successor, more depopulated, impoverished, desolated, ignorant, and feeble, but in principle more inveterate and not more subdued, than the day on which she received its sceptre.

James the First, unfortunately for his own fame, succeeded to so gaudy a reign as that of Elizabeth. A great proportion of his better qualities was thrown away upon the English Nation.—Intoxicated by the renown and splendour of Elizabeth's successes,

and, at all events, has preserved many valuable historic facts and documents from total oblivion. That Work throws great light on the character of Elizabeth;—it is to be presumed Mr. Hume had never read the volume.

they undervalued the advantages of tranquillity and of improvement.—An English Queen of powerful talents, and a Scottish King of moderate capacity;—a woman of undaunted fortitude, and a man of personal imbecility;—a proud, magnificent, and dignified female;—an awkward, shambling, unaffected Monarch,—drew down the sarcasms of superficial ridicule upon one of the best reigns for the internal and prospective happiness of the people.

James's system of government was as distinct as possible from that of his predecessor's. While the reign of Elizabeth abounded in wars abroad and despotism at home, that of James was tranquillity every where; the rudiments of civil liberty slowly and gradually advancing, at length became very visible in the results of his mild and pacific, though whimsical administration. But it was in Ireland that the government of James was most remarkable and most fortunate; for the sword, the torture, the executioner, and the desolation, he substituted improvement and well-regulated justice. He sent not a Mountjoy nor a Carew to inflame and massacre; he sent Davies and Petty to investigate and to instruct, to reform and tranquillize. They sought to convince the natives, by examples and by reasoning, that their ancient laws and customs were less just than the laws of England; and by practising, as far as circumstances could admit, those principles of justice which they so earnestly recommended, gave the people the very best proofs of the integrity of their intentions.

James had been taught, by experience, that loyalty to Monarchs never can be compulsory; it is not loyalty if it be not principle, and

it cannot be principle if it be not voluntary:—past events in Scotland and in England had proved to James, that the loyalty of force is but the lucid interval of insurrection. He therefore sought to persuade, not to subdue, his Irish subjects; and, to moderate their feelings, and to render them susceptible of persuasion, he thought it necessary to give them overt acts of his own moderation *.

Himself a bigot of the first order, he yet knew how to make allowances for the same vice in others; he knew that religious persecution is the assassin of morality, and he substituted his pen for his sword to reform his subjects. Thus James, a most bigotted Protestant Monarch, by tranquillity and moderation, by wise measures

* It cannot be controverted that many acts of civil injustice were committed by Chichester and other officers of James in Ireland, under colour of the Commission of Escheats, and of defective titles, which can only be palliated by a comparison with the reign he succeeded to.

In those times, no reign can bear a scrutiny in detail, and every eulogy on James's justice and equity must be somewhat abated by the extent to which confiscation was carried by his Court of Claims in Ireland. All that can be said favourable on that point, is, that the proceedings were held *peaceably*, with a *semblance* of law; that there was a *colour* of justice; that it excited no insurrection, and that its *results* were most *fortunate*; the change of proprietors in many districts tranquillized and improved the country, and relieved the poor natives, not only from military, but from the most oppressive feudal duties and services, and introduced a class of respectable resident yeomanry theretofore totally unknown in Ireland; and, above all, James laid a foundation for the first successful attempt at establishing a regular and peaceable system of judicial jurisprudence amongst an ignorant and impoverished people.

and wholesome instruction, conciliated and governed in peace and improvement a nation of rude and exasperated Catholics, still bleeding from the scourge and the sword of his predecessor; and by that conduct James laid the basis of whatever civilization that country afterwards attained to.

The reign of James amply demonstrates that Irish loyalty was fully commensurate with royal benevolence; and that whilst plots against his life, and conspiracies against his throne, abounded in England, and debased the British character, a Catholic population in Ireland, remained faithful to a bigotted Protestant of England; and by their conduct, during this reign, unequivocally disproved the charge of native disloyalty. Their advancement in civilization amply repayed both the people and the monarch; and it is deeply to be regretted, that no government of England followed the same course, to tranquillize a country, whose turbulence has ever been a theme for their calumnies and their severity.

However, Providence had decreed that, with the exception of James the First, whether kings, or queens, or usurpers, were the rulers of Great Britain, the same destructive and desolating system should be adopted as to Ireland; all nations save her, had some intervals of tranquillity; she had none; and the more she suffered in the cause of royalty, the more she was branded with the charge of disaffection.

When Charles the First succeeded to the throne, the doctrines of Luther were yielding fast to new Reformers in England. The united standard of bigotry and of treason was now elevated by the

Puritans far above the sphere of all former sectaries; and the British Constitution (such as it was in those times) was, at once, demolished even to its foundation. Rebellion and hypocrisy marched hand in hand triumphantly over its ruins; and the intolerance of Mary and of Elizabeth only changed its garb, but retained its principles, in the practice of Cromwell.

The English Commons House of Parliament renounced its allegiance, cashiered the Lords, extinguished the episcopacy, and dethroned their King. The English Rebels subdued him; the Scots betrayed him; conjointly they beheaded him; but Ireland upheld him. She combatted his murderers, and as the reward of loyalty, she met the fate of Rebels*. The wrecks of Cromwell's desolation still appear scattered over every part of Ireland; blood that had escaped the massacres of Elizabeth was only reserved to flow under the sword of usurpation; and Cromwell has the credit of having done his business more effectually than any of his predecessors. He cooped up the surviving Irish in a contracted district, confined the clergy nearly to one county, confiscated two thirds of Irish territory, and stained his sanguinary career by indiscriminate massacres in every fortress that resisted him. Never was any Rebel so triumphant as he was in

* So great a hatred did the English Parliamentarians entertain against the Irish Royalists, that they ordered "*No quarter* to be given by their troops to *Irish Soldiers*." This order was, for a short time, strictly adhered to; but Prince Rupert, on the King's part, making retaliation, this most sanguinary measure was quickly rescinded.

Ireland*; yet it is impossible to deny, that perhaps a less decisive or less cruel general than that splendid usurper might, by lenity, have

* The Irish Rebellion of 1641 has been resorted to as a proof of Irish disloyalty; but that was an insurrection (as O'Neil's) against the insupportable injustice, tyranny, and oppression of their rulers, to which the peaceable reign of James had given them an additional hatred. It was not, as alleged, a mere rebellion of popery; because, during the reign of James (a Protestant bigot) there was no insurrection; and Charles, against whose Government an insurrection did take place, was guided by his Catholic council, and was not a bigot against popery. But, like all insurrections or wars in Ireland, that of 1641 *must* be termed a *popish* insurrection, because the *population* were *papists;* and it *must* have been against Protestants, because the *oppressors* were *Protestants;* but whatever its proper denomination might have been, it was an insurrection against *tyranny* and *oppression*, and was fully *justified* in less than fifty years afterwards, if the British Revolution of 1688, which dethroned James, can be considered as a justification, and which few people at present can be disposed to question.

It appears that the Irish espoused the cause of Charles at a period when his cause was *desperate;* and this is the most decisive proof that the insurrection was against his officers, not against him or his crown, because he was, at its commencement, in the plenitude of authority.

However, it is an historical fact, that Ireland defended her King when Republicans had dethroned him; that she resisted the Usurper, and was desolated for her loyalty. The confiscations of Irish Lands by Cromwell (though impossible to be defended in point of justice) continue, even to this day, of great utility to Ireland in general. Cromwell apportioned large tracts of the forfeited estates into lots of two hundred acres, each of which he granted in *fee*, (under the title of debentures) to the most meritorious of his own troopers, whose descendants to this day inherit them in various parts of the Kingdom.

This class of men was then of a superior order to what are called troopers at

increased the misery, in prolonging the warfare, and have lengthened out the sanguinary scenes of an unavailing resistance. But it is remarkable that Charles, the graceless son of the decapitated monarch, on his restoration, confirmed under his seal the confiscations against the Irish *royalists*, and actually regranted their estates and territories to the heirs and descendants of his father's murderers.

Ireland had now been weary of bleeding and begging in the cause of legitimate monarchy; however, a new and not less ruinous opportunity soon occurred of again proving the loyalty, the perseverance, the fidelity, but the folly of the Irish people.

The Puritans had got out of fashion, and the Stuarts had been restored to the British sceptre. Charles the Second, after a long and shameless reign, had, by his death, ceased to disgrace the throne and stigmatise the nation; and England swore allegiance to his brother James, as her legitimate monarch,—so did Ireland. His English subjects soon became disgusted with his administration, and privately negotiated with a foreign prince to invade their country and

present. They built small houses on the estates, farmed their own lands, and formed a class which would have been termed Yeomen in England; in Ireland they were vulgarly called "*Half-mounted* Gentlemen," or "Debenture Men."

The author remembers a general but very savage custom amongst that class of persons in Ireland. They were passionately attached to the memory of their benefactor, "*Old Nol;*" and on every 30th of January, the day of Charles's decapitation, they had, for dinner, a *calf's* head, boiled whole; and never failed to wash it down with as much *red* wine as they could possibly swallow. The allusion is very obvious, and very disgusting.

dethrone their king. Heedless of their obligation, they renounced their allegiance, recanted their oaths; and, without a trial, drove James from his palace, and then proclaimed his throne empty, as if vacated by an act of voluntary abdication.

William, a foreign prince, and decidedly a usurper, immediately supplied the vacancy which the British Commons had proclaimed by the authority of treason.

At the head of his foreign troops, William marched into the metropolis of Great Britain, seized on the throne, and occupied the royal palaces. The unnatural desertion of Mary and of Anne to the prince who had dethroned their parent, exhibited to the world (whatever might have been the political errors of their father) the most disgusting example of filial ingratitude, and nearly of parricide.

Ireland had not as yet learned those deep political refinements, the adoption of which now gives constitutional sanction to a principle of revolution. That great precedent was to come from England herself. Ireland experienced not, or at least had not felt, James's attempts at despotism and bigotry, which the English Commons had proclaimed to be a forfeiture of his sceptre.

The pretence of his voluntary abdication, on which England had proceeded to dethrone her king, had not extended its operation to Ireland, nor even been notified to that people. On the contrary, James, a monarch *de jure*, and *de facto*, expelled from one portion of his empire, threw himself for protection upon the faith and the loyalty of another; and Ireland did not shrink from affording that protection.

She defended her legitimate king against the usurpation of a foreigner; and whilst a Dutch guard possessed themselves of the British capital, the Irish people remained firm and faithful to their king, and fought against the invader.

In strict matter of fact, therefore, England became a nation of decided rebels; and Ireland remained a country of decided royalists. Historic records leave that point beyond the power of refutation.

At the period of James's expulsion, even in England the right of popular resistance, and the deposition of a British Monarch, by a simple vote of the Commons House of Parliament, though exemplified by Cromwell, had no acknowledged place in the existing constitution of the British empire. It was then an unsanctioned principle of political polity; and though, in theory, according with the original nature and essence of the social compact between the governor and the governed, yet of the utmost difficulty in its constructions, and dangerous in its execution. The quantity or the quality of arbitrary acts and unconstitutional practices which may be deemed sufficient to put that revolutionary principle into operation, remains still undefined, and must, therefore, be always a matter of conflicting opinions, and of dangerous decision.

The representatives of the people in the Commons House of Parliament are incompetent solely to enact the most unimportant local statute; and it is therefore not easy to designate the cause and crisis which may legally invest that one branch of the Legislature with a dispensing power as to the others, or enable it to erect itself into an

arbitrary tribunal, to decide, by its sole authority, a question of regal despotism, the most dangerous and most difficult of all constitutional considerations*.

As to James, this difficulty was exemplified.—The British Commons, and the Irish people, both subjects of the same king, entirely differed in their opinions as to what acts warranted regal despotism, or could be construed into voluntary abdication, — a point of great importance as to subsequent events which took place in Ireland.

* Though the English Commons House of Parliament had taken upon themselves to dethrone and decapitate Charles the First, on their own *sole* authority, it will scarcely be contended, that Bradshaw and Cromwell established any *constitutional* precedent for a *similar* proceeding. Yet the proceedings of the Commons, in James's case, though more peaceable, were not more legal.

The *vacancy* of the English throne, and consequently the deposition of James, was strongly contested and negatived by the House of Peers of England. The questions and divisions of the House of *Lords* were as follows:—

For the *election* of a *new* king	51
Against the election of *any* king	49
Majority . . .	2

The next debate came more to the *point*—"whether James had *broken* the *original* "*compact*, and *thereby* made the throne *vacant?*"

This was *negatived* by a *majority* of 11.

It therefore appears, that the Irish people and the English Peers were of the same way of thinking. Even *after* James had quitted Ireland in despair, the Irish did not relinquish his cause, which was finally terminated by the gallant defence and ultimate capitulation of Limerick for the whole of Ireland.

James was the hereditary king of both countries, jointly and severally. The third constitutional estate, only, of one of them (England), had deposed him by their own simple vote: but Ireland had never been consulted upon that subject; and the deposition of the King of Ireland by the Commons of England could have no paramount authority in Ireland, or supersede the rights, and dispense with the loyalty, of the Irish Parliament. The Irish people had held no treasonable intercourse with William; they knew him not; they only knew that he was a foreigner, and not their legal prince; that he was supported by a foreign power, and had succeeded by foreign mercenaries. But even if there was a doubt, they conceived that the most commendable conduct was that of preserving entire their allegiance to the King, to whom, in conjunction with England, they had sworn fealty. The British Peers had shewed them an example, and on that principle they fought William as they had fought Cromwell; and again they bled, and again were ruined, by their adherence to legitimate monarchy. Massacre and confiscation desolated their entire country, and they were treated by William as rebels to a throne which they had never sanctioned, and to a usurping prince whom they had always resisted; at length, the contest ended, and Ireland finally submitted, not in the field, but by capitulation.

The triumph of William over the Irish Royalists at the Boyne and at Aughrim, and the deceptious capitulation of Limerick, finally established William on the throne of both nations. Their results introduced into the theory of the British Constitution, certain principles of a rege-

nerating liberty, which have given it a solid and decided superiority over every other system of Government as yet devised by the wisdom of mankind; yet the advantages of that constitution which England has thus raised upon the loyalty, and completed upon the ruins of Ireland, never were participated in by the Irish people.

William, an able captain, a wise and prudent statesman, was yet a gloomy and discontented magistrate; and had in his nature a portion of sulky despotic principle, which nothing but a consideration of the mode in which he had acquired the English crown could have restrained or counteracted*. But as to Ireland, the case was different. William had been invited into England, and he felt that she was his mistress; but he had fought for Ireland, and he considered her as his vassal; and he adapted his government to the relative situation in which he stood as to the two countries.

The results of William's usurpation, in the general establishment of constitutional liberty in England, and the principles of popular revolution which his accession has sanctioned and confirmed, have rendered the memory of his reign glorious in that country. But little

* The massacre of Mac John, his family and clan, in the valley of Glenco, perpetrated by the especial order of William, under his sign manual, has, in point of barbarity, treachery, and injustice, no parallel in the annals of modern Europe. Its details cannot be read without exciting horror; and while it developes the cold-blooded nature of William's character, it accounts for much of his conduct towards the Irish royalists, whom he called rebels, but who owed him no allegiance:—so far it bears upon the events of his reign in Ireland.

did he foresee his restraints and disappointments on the throne of England; there he felt his arbitrary nature unexpectedly curbed and chained down by the principles of that same liberty, which his own usurpation had originated; and, mortified by the resistance he experienced in Great Britain, he lavished his redundant rancour on prostrate Ireland*. But had William acted in Great Britain as he did in Ireland, he would have lost his throne, upon the very same principles by which he acquired it; and have left his own short reign as an historic supplement to the deposition of his father-in-law.

For nearly a century after the capitulation of Limerick had been signed and violated by William, Ireland exhibited a scene of oppression, suffering, and patience, which excited the wonder and commiseration of every people of Europe. The inveterate system of British political and commercial policy, invariably practised against her interests, excluded all hopes of progressive prosperity; and if it were possible, she must have entirely retrograded to the iron age. But even during this state of depression, it was destined that Ireland should still have new touchstones and trials to assay her nature; and again be placed in situations where her loyalty should be proved, and again found preponderating in the balance with the loyalty of Great Britain.

In 1737, and in 1745, the British and Scotch people again forgot

* *See vol. i. p.* 99—where the *complaisance* of William to the English Parliament, and his injustice and oppression toward the Irish nation, are *proved* and illustrated by an *unerring* document.

their oaths and their allegiance, and again revolted to that very prince whom Ireland had been so ruined and stigmatised for defending.

The Stuarts* again claimed the aid of Ireland. But Ireland, in the interval, had sworn fealty to the House of Brunswick ; and Ireland, though groaning under slavery, remained faithful to her obligation. Neither oppression, nor politics, nor religion, swayed her from the line of her allegiance. The noblest blood of Scotland was poured upon the scaffold ; the heads of Scottish Peers were elevated upon the gates of London ; Britons, in crowds, expiated their disloyalty by the cord of the executioner ; the anger of offended Brunswick fell with desolating weight upon Great Britain ; but through all those bloody scenes, English ingenuity could not find a single traitor to execute in Ireland. She preserved her loyalty and her oath, during two rebellions, but she gained neither favour nor character by that preservation ; and her laudable fidelity was only rewarded by new oppressions, and by the incessant calumnies of that same people who had seldom lost an opportunity of being themselves disloyal. Tranquil and submissive, though in absolute servitude, nearly one hundred years passed over Ireland. The great population of the Irish nation continued to be deprived of every attribute of liberty, civil, political, and religious†.

* This subject has been previously touched upon, *see vol. i. p.* 63 ; but is here again introduced to preserve the chain of historic events, and proofs of Irish loyalty, in an uninterrupted sequence.

† A few of the Penal Acts then in force, or since enacted, against Catholics, were— "*By 7th William III.*" no *Protestant* in Ireland was allowed to *instruct* any *Papist.*

Literally outlaws in their own country—labourers on their own territory—they quarried on their own demesnes, to raise palaces for the

" *By 8th of Anne,*" no *Papist* was allowed to *instruct* any *other* Papist. " *By 7th Wil-*
" *liam III.*" no Papist was permitted to be sent *out* of Ireland to *receive instructions.*

By these statutes, as the great body of the Irish people were Papists, more than nine-tenths of the inhabitants of Ireland were legislatively prohibited from receiving *any instruction* whatever, either from a Protestant or a Catholic, either at *home* or *abroad,* or from going *out* of Ireland to be *instructed;* consequently, the darkest and most profound ignorance was enforced under the severest penalties in Ireland. How then can the Irish Catholics admire the *memory* of that prince who *debased* them to the level of brutes, that he might *retain* them in a state of slavery?

Even so late as the 12th George I. any Catholic clergyman marrying a Protestant and Catholic, was to be *hanged.* " *By 7th George II.*" any barrister or attorney marrying a Catholic, to be *disbarred.* " *By 2nd Anne,*" Papist clergymen coming into Ireland, and performing religious exercises, to be *hanged.* " *By 8th Anne,*" Fifty pounds reward for all informers against Catholic archbishops, bishops, and vicars general.

But the most extraordinary of these Penal Statutes, is that of 7th William III. No Papist to ride any horse worth more than £.5. And by *9th George II. Papists* residing in Ireland, shall make *good* to *Protestants* all *losses* sustained by the *privateers* of any Catholic king ravaging the *coasts* of Ireland.

29th George II. *barristers* and *attornies* obliged to *waive* their *privilege,* and *betray* their clients, if *Papists.*

The more wise and enlightened policy of the late reign, repealed most of the statutes which enslaved the Irish Catholic. Actual oppression is done away, and partial disabilities alone remain.

The effects of long slavery and depression, however, continued their operation on the humbled minds of many of the Catholics, even after the causes had been in a great measure

descendants of those canting hypocrites who had massacred their monarch, or of the foreign soldiers of that gloomy and ambitious prince, who had seduced away the loyalty of the children from their parents, and had occupied the throne of their banished father*.

removed. Bishops Troy, Lanagan, and other Catholic Prelates and clergy, in the year 1800, (as before alluded to) gave a most instructive example of the meanness, humility, and corrupt ambition of a portion of that body: deluded by the plausibility of Lord Cornwallis, they devoted their country to his views, and their characters to his deception; and much injured the cause of their emancipation, by exemplifying the corrupt facility and mean adulation of their prelates and their pastors.

The fulsome address from the Catholic clergy and Bishop Lanagan from Kilkenny, to Marquis Cornwallis, in favour of the Union, fortunately rendered the addresses perfectly *ridiculous*. One of his Excellency's *eyes*, by some natural defect, appeared considerably diminished; and, like the pendulum of a clock, was generally in a state of *motion*. The Right Reverend Bishop, and Clergy, having never before seen the Marquis, unfortunately commenced their address with the most *mal-à-propos* exordium of "Your Excellency has "always kept a *steady eye* on the interests of Ireland." The address was presented at Levee. His Excellency, however, was *graciously* pleased not to return *any* answer to *that* part of their compliment.

Mr. Curran, on seeing the address, said, the only match for it he had ever read, was the Mayor of Coventry's speech to Queen Elizabeth: "When the Spanish Armada attacked "your *Majesty*, ecod, they got the *wrong sow by the ear*." The Queen desired them to go home, and she would send an answer.

* The Author's own opinion of both monarchs is very laconic—that they were *both* tyrants in *grain*—that one of them was an example for *fanaticism*—the other an instrument for *liberty*;—and that it was well for England that *neither* of them were allowed to act as they *wished to do*.

If the future is to be judged by the past, it will probably continue to be alleged, that the adherence of Ireland to her kings has been rather the result of her religion than of her loyalty. That observation could not in any degree be applicable to any reign but that of James,—an imputation, however, which in its true construction, general or especial, goes to assert, that a connexion of loyalty and religion so cultivated and extolled in England, under the title of "Church and State," was a crime of the most heinous culpability when found in Ireland. But when historic facts are resorted to, that charge is retorted; and it will hardly be contended, that it was more loyal and meritorious for Protestant subjects to murder their Protestant king, as they did in England, than for Catholic subjects to defend their Catholic king, as they did in Ireland. And it will be as difficult to defend the rebellions of 1737 and 1745, raised by British Protestant subjects against their Protestant king, as it will be to calumniate the undeviating, unshaken loyalty of Catholic Ireland to her Protestant monarchs, and the House of Brunswick, during the same periods. But, unfortunately, these indisputable facts will form this miserable precedent for future ages, that in England the reward of rebellion was liberty; while in Ireland, the reward of loyalty was bondage.

The Irish insurrection of 1798, which afforded to the British minister the fatal and premeditated pretext for annihilating the Irish legislature, though in itself of a most unwarrantable and destructive tendency, far more ruinous to that country herself, than important to the empire in general, differed but little in its ordinary events from

those numerous civil wars, which the history of England, and of every nation, so liberally abounds with; and more especially with those which desolated some of the finest countries of Europe about the same period, the contagion of which had been imported from England herself, where the overthrow of the constitution had been planned, and the murder of the King attempted, before Ireland had been infected.

But it was reserved for the recorders of that sanguinary contest in Ireland,—with motives not less mischievous than those of the insurgents—to raise by their misrepresentation a permanent standard of enmity between the two nations, and endeavour to persuade one portion of the empire, that its safety was altogether incompatible with the independence and prosperity of the other.

Were the leading authors of these absurd and dangerous doctrines, confined solely to the hired traducers or factionists of that country, their histories and their fabrications would sink, together with their names, into obscurity. But when persons of the superior orders in Great Britain lent their weight, their zeal, and their reason to the purposes of their bigotry and their prejudices, and attempted to impose upon the credulity of their countrymen with the same facility that they had been imposed upon themselves, as to the native disloyalty of the Irish people, it becomes just, if not necessary, to recall their recollection to the affairs and records of their own country at the same epoch:—a reference to which, if it cannot check the fanaticism, may at least diminish the authority, of the fanatics.

When it pleased Heaven, during the French Revolution, to inflict a temporary derangement on the reason of mankind, a spirit of wild democracy, under the mask of liberty, appeared in fanciful forms to seduce away or destroy the peace, the morality, the order, and the allegiance of every European people. It would have been more than a phenomenon if too sensitive and ardent Ireland had escaped that general fever, from which the boasted constitution of England, and the steady character of Scotland, had been unable to protect them. The Catholic in the South,—the Presbyter in the North—the Protestant in the metropolis of Ireland, and the professors of every religion in England and in Scotland, became more or less infuriated by the general delirium. That contagion which so vitally affected the nations of Europe, originating in France, soon displayed its symptoms in every part of Great Britain; and when in progress to full maturity, and not before, was carried into Ireland by collision with the English and Scots republicans*.

* See the State Trials and the Reports of the Secret Committee of England, in the year 1794.

Lord Redesdale, who wrote and published so many inconsiderate epistles against Irish loyalty through Lord Fingall, Cadell and Davies, &c. acted officially upon the above occasions, and was officially aware that Scotland and England, not Ireland, led the way to the disloyal societies; his Lordship's *language* and *feelings*, as to Ireland, must have been at wonderful variance; for when his Lordship announced from the bench that he had been *superseded* as *Chancellor*, he *cried* very heartily, though he got five thousand pounds per annum pension to console him for the deprivation;—the bar justly considered his tears as a

Religion could have but little influence on the projects and politics of that era,—for the total extinction of *all* religion was a fundamental principle of that foreign revolution which gave birth to a democracy that sought to overturn every throne and constitution of Europe. Yet the calumniators of Ireland place that spirit of insurrection almost exclusively to the credit of religion amongst the Irish people, because the population of Ireland was chiefly composed of the sect which they stigmatised.

At that period, Ireland had a resident Legislature and a free constitution. She was in profound tranquillity, and the most progressive state of national prosperity*, when the emissaries of the

precious compliment to *Ireland*, and addressed him as a commemoration of them.—However, the *law* reaped *no advantage* by his removal.

By these Reports of the Secret Committee, it appears that Edinburgh, and various other places in England and Scotland, were infected long before Ireland; and Mr. Secretary Dundas illustrated these Reports, by annexing accurate drawings of the different form and species of *pikes*, battle-axes, &c. which were fabricated in Scotland, for the purposes of treason and murder. Ireland did not appear to Mr. Pitt forward enough in treason with the kingdom under his more immediate management, and therefore sent over Lord Fitzwilliam to Ireland, to ensure tranquillity; and when he was on the point of doing so, ordered him back again to permit insurrection.—*See Lord Fitzwilliam's Letters to Lord Carlisle.*

* When Lord Westmorland was removed from Ireland, in 1795, Ireland was in a most unexampled and progressive state of general prosperity. In that year, Mr. Curran informed the Author, in a private conversation, of his intention to suggest an impeachment against the Earl of Westmorland, for having permitted a part of 12,000 troops (which,

English and Scotch societies quickly proceeded to pervert her reason, as their own had been perverted. The original societies of Ireland had no such principles as designated the latter ones. The Minister, Mr. Pitt, had made his entrance into public life in the domino of a Reformer. The first and most loyal noblemen and commoners in Ireland were Reformers; but it was through the prospective policy of that great Minister, that the seeds of insurrection were permitted to take root in Ireland:—without it a union had never been accomplished.

In England, the Government took prompt and vigorous measures to stop the progress of that dangerous and destructive principle; but in Ireland they coolly saw the weed springing up, and artfully forced it to premature maturity*. They watched its growth till it had

according to stipulation, should always remain in Ireland) to be drafted out of that kingdom for foreign service.

Mr. Curran laughed at his own project, when the Author asked him what plausible *reason* he could give for saying that any troops were *necessary*.

The day Lord Westmorland departed, *no* army was necessary in Ireland; and if Earl Fitzwilliam had not been removed, doubtless insurrection might have been prevented. But tranquillity would not have effected Mr. Pitt's purposes; and Earl Fitzwilliam, one of the best and honestest of the British peerage, was appointed, duped, and deposed by the policy of the Minister: the reason was obvious.

* General Abercromby, when commander-in-chief in Ireland, declined to enforce *free quarters* on the peasantry, as a measure "*more formidable to the friends than the enemies of tranquillity;*" and soon after he resigned the command in Ireland, leaving behind him the highest respect for his judgment and integrity.

covered sufficient of the country to bewilder the residue. Its vegetation was cautiously permitted to proceed, whilst there remained within their own reach sufficient means of suppressing it at their discretion; and this deep and treacherous experiment was risked to effect the greatest object of Mr. Pitt's administration,—a final extinguishment of Irish independence.

With that view, it was expedient to suffer that country to plunge itself into a state of sanguinary civil warfare*, of terrors and of animosities; whilst England should hold the reins which could check its progress, and might fallaciously induce it, by the hopes of English protection, to exchange a constitutional independence for a speculative tranquillity, or render it so feeble and so divided by a continuation of internal contests, that if it could not be seduced, it might be compelled to annexation.

And here lies the secret spring which regulated the insurrection of 1798, and the machinery which moved the Union in 1800,—a measure which, for the twenty-five years succeeding its accomplishment, has only operated as a ruin to the annexed, and a torment to the annexing nation. Recorded abstracts of Irish and of British history thus form an incontrovertible exposition of Irish principles, and of

* It was contended by many members of the Irish Parliament, that if duly put into *operation*, the *existing* laws were sufficiently strong to arrest the insurrection. Lord Carhampton (who certainly had more wit than moderation on every subject) put that question to a short issue.—"Let," said his Lordship, "the rebels go to *war* with us, and we will "go to *law* with them; and I think we shall soon get a good deal the worst of the *litigation*."

English misconception. The character of the Irish people has been always calumniated—their independence has been torn away, but their indigenous loyalty is unaffected—their nation is monarchical—they naturally love kings—the tradition of their old monarchs keeps up the attachment; and never was a greater injustice done to any people, than to call them democratic. But immortality of power is not an attribute of nations—like man, they may flourish, but like man, they must decay. Rome had her glory and her power, but, subdued by time, she yielded up her empire; and should some Gibbon of future ages record the decline and fall of British greatness, the historian will probably do justice to the fidelity of Ireland; and tell posterity, that when some gigantic foreign power, nurtured by British folly, for British subjugation, had paralyzed her resources, and decolonized her empire, England, in the last struggles of her superiority, had not a faithful ally left to cover her remains, but her calumniated sister*.

* This observation will not be considered altogether visionary, when men reflect upon the modern events of Europe, and the *possible* consequences of that extravagant and ruinous system which had been adopted, of blindly subsidizing and strengthening every foreign Power at the expense of the British Treasury, and of British interests. Russia—Prussia—Austria—Portugal; but above all, Spain, owe their present *independent* political existence to the blood and the treasures of Great Britain and of Ireland, borrowed for their use, and lavished for their protection.

And miserably is England requited for her protection, her money, and her sacrifices.

The *gratitude* of Russia, is a *lust* for the Carnatic—that of Prussia, a *love* for Hanover. Austria pleaded insolvency to a debt which saved her from destruction. Spain

repays our sacrifices and our millions by insolence and detestation; and even France seems to forget our preservation of her dynasty, in her connexion with that ungrateful league of foreign potentates, who have assumed the veil of holiness to conceal ambition; and have no object so near their hearts or their machinations, as the depression of that great people who saved them all from annihilation.

The extraordinary events which have taken place in the New World, must greatly influence the policy, and make strong impressions upon the conduct, of the Old; but what may be the results of so important an accession to the jealousies of Europe, time only can develope. This, however, is clear, that the same deep and sagacious policy, obviously in full progress by the ambition of Russia, and which the short vision of Londonderry (so outwitted by superior statesmen) laid the foundation for at Vienna, if prudently persevered in by that powerful confederacy, will materially interfere with the position and interests of every other state in Europe.

The boasted balance may then descend—Great Britain will be its only counterpoise; and it is more than probable, that the first angry shot England may find it necessary to fire, will be on the Baltic, or perhaps the Bosphorus.

CHAPTER IV.

Bills to relax the Penal Code brought into Parliament—Opposed by Mr. Rowley and Sir Edward Newenham—Their Characters—The extraordinary Character of Doctor Duigenan—Curious Anecdotes of that Person—His Writings—Doubtful Tenets—Lieut. Heppenstal (named the Walking Gallows)—The Catholic Relaxation Bills pass—A prophetic Reason given for opposing them—The Objection against the Sufficiency of simple Repeal gains Ground—Duke of Portland's Insincerity—Mr. Fox's Candour—Avows the Insufficiency of the Arrangement with Ireland—Marquess of Rockingham and Lord Charlemont—Sketch of Mr. Burke's Conduct—Acrimonious Debates in the Irish House of Commons—Mr. Flood and Mr. Grattan commence Hostilities—Several Divisions—Mr. Flood's Motion negatived—Mr. Grattan's most extraordinary and objectionable Motion—Mr. Flood's reply—Close of the Session—The Duke of Portland's plausible and deceptious Speech from the Throne—A Document of great Consequence in Irish History.

Bills to ameliorate by partial concession the depressed state of the Catholics, as some reward for their zeal and patriotism, were introduced, and had arrived at their last stages in the House of Commons without any effective opposition; intolerance, however, even to the extent of fanaticism, had so identified itself with the minds of some members of both Houses of Parliament, that these Bills of partial relief to their enslaved countrymen were strenuously opposed in their latter stages by statements so exaggerated, and language so aggravating, that a cry of "Danger to Church and State!" was

raised and circulated, and actually bewildered the intellect of many, who were on other occasions of reasonable judgment.

These Bills were clamorously opposed in Parliament by several country gentlemen of high local consideration, and principally by Mr. Rowley, member for Meath County, one of the best landlords and best men in Ireland; a downright, honest, headstrong country gentleman. His information was scant, and his abilities were moderate; but he was of large fortune, splendid establishments, unbounded hospitality, and full of philanthropy; yet so perverted was his mind by legendary tales, and hereditary prejudices, that though he most generously afforded to his Papist tenantry and to individual Catholics every service and kindness in his power, he considered them, collectively, as a body of demons; their chapels as temples of idolatry; their schools as seminaries of rebellion, and their clergy as a gang of necromancers.

So infatuated was he by these prepossessions, that he saw, or rather fancied that he saw, in any relaxation of the penal statutes, nothing but a total overthrow of the entire Protestant Establishment, and an immediate revolution in favour of some Popish monarch.

Those Bills were also pertinaciously opposed by Sir Edward Newenham, member for Dublin County, a weak, busy, narrow-minded, but not ill-informed, nor ill-intentioned person. He was very defective in talent, but very confident that he possessed much of it; he fancied he was a great patriot, and was disposed to imagine himself a distinguished personage. He had drawn General Washington into a short literary

correspondence with himself as to Ireland, on the strength of which, he affected, with great importance, to be an importer of the most early and authentic information from America.

He was an active officer of the Volunteer Artillery, and a good Irishman; but a busy, buzzing, useless, intermeddling Member of Parliament, and one of the most credulous, feeble, and fanatical of all the Irish Intolerants.

Many inveterate opponents of any concessions to the Catholics made their appearance in the Irish Parliament; and as the concerns of that sect must form a prominent topic in the progress of this memoir, it may be interesting and useful to introduce, even by anticipation, the most distinguished of all its opponents.

This celebrated antagonist of the Irish Catholics, so far as invective and declamation could affect their interests, was Doctor Patrick Duigenan, Judge of the Prerogative Court of Ireland;—a man whose name must survive so long as the feuds of Ireland shall be remembered, and whose singular conduct, on many points, was of a nature so inconsistent and irregular that, even now, when his race is run, and no further traits of his character can ever be developed, it is yet impossible to decide with certainty as to his genuine principles, if such he possessed, upon any one subject, religious or political.

This eccentric person *, whose celebrity originated from his

* His father was parish-clerk of St. Werburgh's Church, Dublin, but in what part of Ireland he originated, is still uncertain; he was educated in the Parish School, and (as he told the Author himself) was humourously christened *Paddy*, having been born on

Engraved by T. Blood, from an original drawing by Comerford in possession of Sir Jonah Barrington.

DOCTOR PATRICK DUIGENAN, L.L.D

Published June 1st 1810. by S. Robinson, Paternoster Row, London.

crusades for Protestant supremacy, would probably have been a conspicuous character in whatever station he might have been placed, or in whatever profession he might have adopted. Incapable of moderation upon any subject, he possessed too much vigorous and active intellect to have passed through life an unsignalized spectator; and if he had not at an early period enlisted as a champion of Luther, it is more than probable he would, with equal zeal and courage, have

St. Patrick's day. He signalized himself as a scholar in the University of Dublin, of which he was chosen a fellow; he soon afterwards quarrelled with the Provost, Mr. Hutchinson, and every person who did not coincide with his humours, and wrote a number of severe pamphlets, of which "Lachrymæ Academicæ," and "*Pranceriana*," are the most notable; the first, personally against the conduct of the Provost and Sir John Blaquiere; the second, on a proposal of the Provost's to establish a *riding house* for the students. He was always at open war with some person, during the whole course of his public life.

He left the University, retaining the office of Law Professor; was shortly afterwards appointed King's Counsel; Judge of the Prerogative and Consistory Courts; King's Advocate to the High Court of Admiralty; one of Lord Castlereagh's Commissioners for *bribing Members of Parliament* (Post); and to many other public offices, most of which he retained to his death. His income was very large, and he must have privately done many liberal and charitable acts, because he was not extravagant, and left no considerable fortune behind him.

Dr. Duigenan having been King's Advocate to the High Court of Admiralty, where the Author presided; and the Author being a Doctor of Laws, and Advocate in the Court of Prerogative, of which Dr. Duigenan was Judge, their intercourse was constant and very intimate for many years, and the Author had daily private opportunities of observing the curious habits of this most eccentric character;—the most outrageous, and at the same time one of the best-natured men in the world, to those whom he regarded.

borne the standard for St. Peter's followers. A hot, rough, intrepid, obstinate mind, strengthened by very considerable erudition, and armed by a memory of the most extraordinary retention, contributed their attributes equally to his pen *, and his speeches.

* Some of his literary productions have a great deal of matter and point, conveyed with great precision, and a strong quaintness of expression, but disfigured and enfeebled by rhapsody, digressions, and vulgar invective. But when his mode of sending his writings to the press is known, wonder will cease; and the only surprise will be, why they are so free from imperfections.

The Author happened to be on a visit at the Doctor's house when he was composing one of his most remarkable and abusive productions on the State of Ireland. His mode was thus:—he folded a sheet of paper into four parts, and wrote rapidly on each side, frequently at the same moment conversing with the Author on *other* subjects, and as soon as the sheet was filled with close writing, he sent it off to the press for publication, without ever *reading* one word of it, or *correcting* a *single syllable;* and no person ever perused a line of it, except the printer, till it had been finally delivered to the public. He said (laughing most heartily) that probably people would think him mad if they knew how he published his works, but that he was determined always to print whatever came *uppermost*, which was generally the best, and certainly the most natural; but that if he began to correct words, or compose periods, he would probably send some piece of cursed manufactured turgid stuff into the world, neither natural nor pointed; and he observed, that in printing his "Lachrymæ Academicæ," he had very fortunately taken the same course; for if he had been such a fool as to have read it over before he published it, he would not have left above fifteen lines of it for publication; and so the Provost and Sir John Blaquiere (chief Secretary for Ireland) would have escaped a great portion of (as he said) merited castigation. He said that the only alteration he ever made in that work, whilst at press, was the insertion of an after-thought, which he sent to the printer: viz. "The *source* of Sir John Blaquiere, like that of the Nile, has never yet been *discovered.*"

He considered invective as the first, detail as the second, and decorum as the last quality of a public orator; and he never failed to exemplify these principles.

A partisan in his very nature, every act of his life was influenced by invincible prepossessions; a strong guard of inveterate prejudices were sure, on all subjects, to keep moderation at a distance, and occasionally prevented even common reason from obtruding on his dogmas, or interrupting his speeches.

A mingled strain of boisterous invective, unlimited assertion, rhapsody and reasoning, erudition and ignorance, were alike perceptible in his writings and orations; yet there were few of either from which a dispassionate compiler might not have selected ample materials for an able production.

He persuaded himself that he was a true fanatic; but though the world gave him full credit for his practical intolerance, there were many exceptions to the consistency of his professions, and many who doubted his theoretic sincerity. His intolerance was too outrageous to be honest, and too unreasonable to be sincere; and whenever his Protestant extravagance appeared to have even one moment of a lucid interval, it was immediately predicted that he would die a Catholic.

His politics could not be termed either uniform or coherent. He had a latent spark of independent spirit in his composition, which the minister sometimes found it difficult to extinguish, and dangerous to explode. He had the same respect for a Protestant bishop that he would probably have had for a Catholic cardinal. Episcopacy was

his standard; and when he shewed symptoms of running restive to the Government, the primate of Ireland was called in to be the pacificator.

He held a multiplicity of public offices at the same time, unconnected with Government *. He was Vicar General to most of the bishops; and whenever he conceived the rights of the Church were threatened, his bristles instantly arose, as it were, by instinct; his tusks were bared for combat; he moved forward for battle; and would have shewn no more mercy to the Government than he would have done to the patriots.

On the bench, he was unfortunately too consistent with his native character. Though he was totally inaccessible to any conscious corruption, his prejudices and violence wrought equally against justice, and not unfrequently ruled his reason and his judgment with absolute despotism.

He injured the reputation of Protestant ascendancy by his extravagant support of the most untenable of its principles. He served

* On the Union, he accepted the office of Commissioner for bribing the Members of Parliament (under the name of *Compensation* for the loss of their *Seats* or *Patronage*.)—(Vide Post).

The Doctor, the late Lord Annesley, and a Mr. Jameson, an Englishman, under this commission, *distributed*, by Lord Castlereagh's appointment, *one million five hundred thousand pounds* of the Irish money, amongst Members of the Houses of Lords and Commons; without which bribes and gifts of peerages, there would have been a vast majority *against* the Union. The Doctor told the Author that he accepted that office, solely that he might be able to take care of the *bishops;* and the Author believes at least half his assertion.—But the bishops were outwitted.

the Catholics by the excess of his calumnies, and aided their claims to amelioration by personifying that virulent sectarian intolerance which was the very subject of their grievances.

He had, however, another character, which, though not absolutely divested of his public roughness, frequently disclosed qualities of a very superior description. With a spirit naturally open and zealous, he was often an ardent and sincere friend; and though publicly harsh, he was privately charitable; yet seemed almost ashamed of doing any thing that could be called benevolent. His tongue and his actions were constantly at variance; he was hospitable and surly; sour and beneficent; prejudiced and liberal; friendly and inveterate. His bad qualities he exposed without reserve to the public; his good ones he husbanded for private intercourse. Many of the former were fictitious; all the latter were natural. He was an honest man, with an outrageous temper and perverted judgment; and, as if he conceived that right way was wrong, he sedulously endeavoured to conceal his philanthropy under the garb of a misanthrope.

In private society, he was often the first in conviviality; and when his memory, his classic reading, and his miscellaneous information were turned to the purposes of humour or of anecdote, they gave a quaint, joyous, eccentric cast to his conversation, highly entertaining to strangers, and still more so to those accustomed to the display of his versatilities.

The most striking singularity of this most singular man, was his unaccountable inconsistency in words and actions toward the Catholic

community *. He alternately fostered and abused, caressed and calumniated, many intimates of that persuasion;—an inconsistency,

* The Doctor was first married to a Roman Catholic lady, a Miss Cusac, whose sister had been a nun previous to the French Revolution, and resided with the Doctor. A Catholic priest also resided generally in the Doctor's House, as confessor and domestic chaplain to the ladies, and occasionally did the honours of his table. All the Doctor's servants were Catholics, and a great majority of his guests and intimates were of the same persuasion. In his domestic circle he lived much amongst Catholics, who very properly judged, that a hospitable table and an open purse were at least *consolations* for the *virulent* sallies of invective with which the Doctor occasionally belaboured their *whole fraternity*. The hospitality was solid, the abuse unsubstantial, and the sincerity of his abuse was at least questionable, for, until after the Doctor's second marriage, the *ultimate* bent of his theology remained problematical. The Doctor's second wife was a very notable, clever English lady, whom he caught in Dublin. She was the relict of a Mr. Heppenstal, who had been one of the most zealous of the Orange Associations, and brother to the celebrated Lieutenant Heppenstal, who, in the year 1798, acquired the surname of the "*walking gallows*," from the following circumstance:—he was a remarkably tall, robust man, and had a habit of expertly executing straggling Rebels, when he happened to meet them, by twisting his own cravat round their necks, then throwing it over his own brawny shoulder, and so trotting about at a smart pace, with the Rebel dangling at his back, and choking gradually till he was totally defunct, which generally happened before the Lieutenant was tired of his amusement.

This ingenious contrivance, and some others nearly as expert, has not been practised in any other part of the world as yet discovered;—but it was the humour of the year 1798 in Ireland, during martial law, and was not discountenanced by any military, or countermanded by any municipal authority; nor was its legality ever investigated or called in question by any Court of Justice.—At that time, Lord Clare was Chancellor.

The Doctor lived most happily with his second wife, to the day of his death. It is

however, which his last matrimonial connexion was supposed to have redeemed; and he died at a very advanced age, upon a short notice, retaining all his strength and faculties, and in the full vigour of all his prejudices.

His strong, sturdy person *, and coarse, obstinate, dogmatic, intelligent countenance, indicated many of his characteristic qualities. He was too rough and too unaccommodating to have had many partisans; and after the Union, which he vigorously supported, his public importance and reputation dwindled away to nothing; and his death, at a very advanced age, afforded no great cause of regret to his friends, or of gratification to his enemies.

Mr. George Ogle, and many other decided opponents of the Catholic claims, were also prominent characters in the general affairs and politics of the country, and will appear in most of the miscellaneous transactions of the Irish Parliament. But the whole bent and efforts of the Doctor's mind and actions were concentrated and publicly arrayed against the Catholic community, some members of which were in private his chief associates, and his nearest connections; and the early introduction of such a personage may tend to illustrate the

natural to suppose that a lady educated in a school so strictly Protestant, did not suffer the Doctor to expire at the wrong side of the question; and it is now generally believed that the Doctor died a member of the Church of England.

* The portrait of the Doctor, here annexed, was quite a *fac simile* of his countenance at seventy; his person exactly matched it; and his address was perfectly correspondent with both.

singular situation of that sect, and that inconsistency which from first to last has signalised the conduct both of their friends and their enemies.

Those Bills relaxing the severity of the penal code, passed, however, through both Houses without any considerable difficulty; and, though the concessions were very limited, they afforded great satisfaction to the Catholic body, as the first growth of a tolerating principle, which they vainly imagined was a sure precursor of that general religious and political freedom, without which, in an ardent and divided population, peace and security must ever be precarious.

Some men, however, saw in these incipient concessions the germ of discord and extravagant expectation. The most unrelenting of their opponents, in the full zeal of unqualified fanaticism, used arguments so cruel and unjust in principle, that the distorted mind, or crooked policy of legislators alone could have resorted to.

They argued, that the nearly insupportable oppressions under which the Irish Catholics had so long laboured, were rapidly disgusting them with their own tenets, which had entailed upon them all the attributes of slavery and deprivation;—that worn down by penal codes, under the pressure of which they could neither rise nor prosper, they were daily recanting those disqualifying tenets, and embracing that religion, under which their wants and their ambition could be fully gratified;—that noblemen, gentlemen, peasants, and even their priests, were rapidly embracing the Protestant profession; and that if the same propensity to recantation was still kept in progress, by a full and strict continuance of that same penal code, the severity of

which had originally caused it, Ireland would gradually acquire a Protestant population,—if not a majority of the people, at least more than a proportion of all whose property, rank, and interest would lead them to preserve the peace of the nation, and the connection with Great Britain.

This was a barbarous doctrine, which could never be supported by any principle either of justice or of policy *, yet in fact it was prophetic; for, from the day the first Bills of relaxation of the penal laws were enacted, recantation became suspended. The principle of concession which actuated the Parliament in these relaxations, proved that the light of justice and reason had broken in upon them, and excited reasonable expectations of further grants and general toleration, and arrested the further progress of apostacy. And even these first partial relaxations of their grievous oppressions, quickly operated as a stimulus to their exertions; their industry gradually increasing, their independence and their information pacified the conflicts between their grievance and their conscience, and naturally confirmed them in an adherence to their religious tenets, which no longer

* Before the first relaxation of the penal laws, recantations were very numerous. The fathers of Lords Ormond, Llandaff, &c. &c. had recanted;—Lord Dunboyn, a Catholic bishop, and Mr. Kirwan, a Catholic priest, had recanted,—(the latter was the most eloquent preacher that ever appeared in Ireland, or probably any where,)—he became a Protestant dean;—the late Bishop of Meath had been bred a Papist; and Lord Clare, the Irish Chancellor, had to boast of a father who had been educated at St. Omer's for a Catholic priest, but had withdrawn and became a barrister.

manacled their industry, or restrained their education;—and in a few years after this first partial repeal of their penal statutes, such recantations had totally ceased; many respectable Catholics relapsed to their own community *,—their wealth multiplied,—their numbers nearly doubled,—their claims strengthened;—and it is now conceived, by many of the highest Protestant authorities, that the peace and security of the British empire cannot much longer resist their claims to an entire toleration. It is at all events fortunate that the barbarous doctrines of the penal code can no longer be applicable to Ireland. The results which have taken place, in consequence of the concessions already made, have placed the Catholics of Ireland beyond the reach and power of their recurrence. Ireland can never prosper but with tranquillity;—not the tranquillity of force, but that of content,—affairs cannot remain stationary,—and that is the view England should take of it.

The Union has failed in all its professed objects. That some change of system, and that an extensive and important one, in the management of the Irish nation, has become imperatively necessary, every man perceives; but what that change may be, or rather must be, time and circumstances, and Providence, can alone determine; and a

* The last Lord Dunboyn was a marked instance of this observation. The priest who confessed him in his last moments refusing, as a witness, to disclose his *dying tenets*, was sent to gaol by the late Chief Justice of Ireland (Downes) for his contumacy. Under these *circumstances* the judge was not clearly justifiable: Lord Dunboyn had certainly relapsed.

wise and tolerating government only can carry into execution. It is important, however, to bear in mind, that Ireland has entirely changed her situation, and in many instances, her character;—and that the Catholics of George no longer resemble the Catholics of James and of William: they had then but the desperation of slaves,—they have now the energy of freemen.

The minds of men now began to cool, and the affairs of Ireland to assume a most serious and complicated aspect. The influence of the British ministry was diminishing amongst the people, in proportion as it was increasing in the Parliament; and the popular confidence in the Parliament declined at the same pace that the influence of Government advanced among its members. And it soon appeared that the British cabinet, disappointed in its schemes to satisfy the Irish nation, could neither advance, retrograde, nor remain stationary, without losing its weight and popularity either in Great Britain or in Ireland; nor did the miscellaneous materials of that ill-constructed cabinet long support its reputation in either country.

The paroxysms of ardent patriotism having somewhat abated in the Irish Parliament—distinctions and shades of distinctions were rising and re-opening into party, and into jealousies. Some men conceived that Ireland had obtained every thing—others argued that she had acquired no securities,—that enthusiastic unanimity which had so proudly signalized their first movements was gradually degenerating; the old courtiers, who had wandered from their standards, seized greedily upon every pretence to re-assume their stations; and many of that

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body, who a moment before had been unanimous, and supposed to be incorruptible, now began to remember themselves, and forget their country; but the people were staunch—their spirit was invincible—the voice of the volunteers was raised—it was loud and clear, and echoed through the Parliament. The Government was arrested in its corrupting progress; many were recalled to a sense of duty by a sense of danger; and the situation of the country seemed approaching to a *crisis.*

Mr. Grattan acted on the purest patriotic principles, but they were over-moderated by Earl Charlemont, and occasionally neutralized by an honourable confidence in Whig sincerity. He still contended (because such was his conviction) that the Irish Nation should rest satisfied, and confide in the sincerity of the British Ministry, and the existing guarantees for the permanence of their constitution. He was devoted to the Whigs, because they professed the purest principles of well-regulated liberty; and he would not doubt the integrity of those whose principles he had adopted, till at length Mr. Fox himself, wearied by a protracted course of slow deception, uncongenial either to the proud impetuosity of his great mind, or the natural feelings of his open temper, at once confirmed the opinions of the Irish people, and openly proclaimed to Ireland the inadequacy of all the measures that had theretofore been adopted. He took occasion in the British Parliament, on the repeal of the sixth of George the First, being there alluded to, to state, "that the repeal of that Statute could "not stand *alone,* but must be accompanied by a final adjustment;

"and by a solid basis of permanent connection." He said, "that "some plans of that nature would be laid before the Irish Parliament "by the Irish Ministers, and a *treaty* entered upon, which *treaty*, "when proceeded on, might be adopted by both Parliaments, and "finally become an *irrevocable* arrangement between the two "countries*."

By that short, but most important speech, the Irish delusion of a final adjustment was in a moment dissipated; the Viceroy's duplicity became indisputably proven; His Majesty's reply to the Irish Parliament was renounced by the very Minister who had written it. The Irish address to the Duke of Portland appeared to have been premature and inconsiderate; and his reply could no longer be defended on the grounds either of its truth or its sincerity. Mr. Fox himself, with the true candour of an able statesman, avowed the insufficiency of the existing arrangement; and thus, by easy inferences, decided against the adequacy of the simple repeal for general purposes. His declaration, that "a further treaty was in contemplation," was prospective and ambiguous, and gave not only plausible, but justifiable grounds, for an alarming uneasiness amongst the Irish people.

Notwithstanding this avowal, Mr. Flood was still but feebly supported in the House of Commons. The volunteers, rather than the

* It was asserted on the Union Debates, that this speech of Mr. Fox's only referred to a *commercial* arrangement,—an assertion which appears falsified by every speech and act of the British Ministry; and by the *further* measures subsequently taken to consummate the *constitutional* part of the arrangement.

Parliament, had now the preponderance in public estimation, and their activity increased as difficulties augmented.

In England, public matters were sinking into a state of languor and torpidity. The Marquess of Rockingham, in a fatally declining state of health, and his friend Lord Charlemont, in an habitual complaining one, carried on a well-bred, superficial, uneffective correspondence, as to the affairs of Ireland, which was every thing that was courteous, but nothing that was statesmanlike; and even if death had not, unfortunately for the Whigs, snatched away Lord Rockingham, he and the Earl of Charlemont were not likely to effect the consummation of the political arrangements between the two nations. The latter nobleman could see wide, but he could not see deep. The former could neither see very wide nor very deep, but he could see very distinctly: in cultivating moderation, they lost sight of energy, and their conduct at this moment was shallow and insipid.

Mr. Burke might have been, and probably was, sincere towards Ireland; but he was stationary. He had a game to play for himself; and his transcendent talents, however great in their extent, were not always found so consistent in their application. And though his fame never can be eclipsed—his abilities never depreciated; though his lessons will be eternally instructive, and the invincible vigour of his intellect never could be vanquished—still he had his trances, his visions, and his theories; and though always in the first line of general admiration, he was not always in the front rank of public confidence. He took no distinguished part in those transactions, appearing as if

he were repugnant to commit himself in a deceptious arrangement, or an imperfect treaty.

Whilst affairs remained in this precarious state, a debate occurred, more embarrassing than any that had preceded it, and which gave new features to the close of this, the most remarkable session of Irish Parliaments.

The question of simple repeal had now been so often canvassed, so often argued, and had caught so strong a hold of the Irish people, that it was obvious it could not rest where it was, and that something further must be done to satisfy the Irish Nation; but what that something should be, was more embarrassing to the Government of both countries than any consideration which had theretofore occurred to them.

After the address of the Irish Commons to His Majesty, moved by Mr. Grattan, England could not be again so strongly applied to for further concession. She had promptly acceded to every thing that was then required of her, and was told by that address, that nothing remained further to be done as to constitution between the two countries; she might, therefore, plausibly decline further demands upon the same subject. That address had, in plain language, renounced all further constitutional claims, by the Irish Parliament; and Mr. Grattan could not recede from such his own reiterated declarations. Mr. Flood, however, remained unshaken and firm in his opinion of the insufficiency of the arrangement, and determined to increase their security, through an unequivocal act of the Irish Legislature; and on the

twenty-ninth day of July, he moved for leave to bring in a Bill, "to "affirm the sole exclusive right of the Irish Parliament to make laws "affecting that country, in all concerns *external* and *internal* what-"soever."

A most animated, and even virulent debate, took place on that motion. It was debated with great ability, but ill-placed confidence or ill-timed moderation still guided the majority of the Commons; and even the introduction of the Bill was negatived without a division.

Mr. Grattan, heated by the language of his rival, blinded by an unlimited confidence in the integrity of the Whig Ministry, and for a moment losing sight of the first principle of constitutional liberty, then proposed a motion, equally singular for the language of its exordium, and the extravagance of its matter. He moved, "That the Legis-"lature of Ireland was independent; and that any person who should "propagate in *writing*, or *otherwise*, an *opinion* that any right what-"soever, whether external or internal, existed in any other Parliament, "or *could* be *revived*, was inimical to both kingdoms."

The ingenuity of man could scarcely have formed a more objectionable precedent or dangerous resolution. It was too great an opportunity not to be taken immediate advantage of by Mr. Flood; his reply was equally severe and able; he represented the resolution as "placing "Ireland in a state of tyranny worse than Russia; prohibiting both "the Lords and Commons of Ireland, under a denunciation of being "enemies to their country, from the common rights of every British "citizen, to discuss the same constitutional question which had been

Mr Flood presents his comps to Mr Ayre. He lements that he had not the honor of seeing Mr Edgeworth; but, having taken the air, he found himself so fatigued, that he was obliged, to lye upon the bed.

He has read the address, with care, & finds every reason to approve of it, except two lines of the first paragraph, under which he has drawn a line with his pen. The objections appear to him to be of such weight, that he cannot help offering them, though with the greatest deference.

The first words between these two marks (⌈ ⌉) declare that the whole matter is at present ~~to be~~ undigested. This will occasion a great run against us from the enemies of Reform. ~~Besides this~~, the Borough-men in parliament, will make it a decisive reason, against giving us leave to bring in a bill; or to take any preparatory steps, till you shall

be referred, to the integrity & wisdom of Parli-
:ament."

This would not confess, that we are in a state of indigestion. This would not pledge us, either to give, or not to give a plan. This would not tye up the hands of the friends to Reform in Parliament. This might fairly be inter-
:preted thus. We are satisfied in our own minds as to the grounds, on which we are to proceed but we would not shut the door against the possibility of lights from Mr Pitt's plan - nor would we offend Parliament by saying that we would leave nothing to their discretion. I beg pardon for this length I cannot be uninterested. It would be affectation to say that I were. I request you to keep this, as a record of my sentiments.
Jan. 31. 1785.

Engraved by James Heath from a Drawing by Comerford in possession of Sir Jonah Barrington

RIGHT HON^BLE HENRY FLOOD.

Published March 1 1811 by G. Robinson Paternoster Row London.

" so often before, and was at that very moment, debating in the House " of Parliament—depriving every Irish subject of his natural liberty, " either of speech or of writing:—a proscription against all who " differed with the honourable gentleman on a vital question respecting " his own country, or who should presume to publish or even to " whisper that difference—a resolution which would be scoffed at in " Ireland, ridiculed in Great Britain, and be contemptible in both— " a resolution which could have no operation as a law, no justification " as a principle, and which could have no character to support it, but " those of folly and of tyranny." He therefore moved an adjournment. The tide, however, flowed too strong against Mr. Flood personally. It was the great object of the Government to conquer him first, and then neutralize his adversary; and even those who were determined to negative Mr. Grattan's motion, also determined to negative the motion of adjournment because it was Mr. Flood's; and a considerable majority decided against it*. Mr. Grattan then proposed

* The division was ninety-nine to thirteen against Mr. Flood's motion, though the whole House saw clearly that Mr. Grattan's resolution could not possibly pass; yet so strong was the opposition to *any thing* proposed by Mr. Flood, that an adjournment was rejected. This debate, so near the termination of the session, appeared at first very disagreeable; but in the event it had great effect; and the embarrassments which Mr. Grattan's resolution, as *carried*, must necessarily have created, was a very strong ingredient amongst those considerations which induced the British Parliament voluntarily to pass an Act of *Renunciation*, which Mr. Grattan had thought unnecessary, before the Irish Parliament could meet again to discuss the subject, when the accumulating dissatisfaction of the nation might have given rise to more distracting measures.

another declaratory resolution, stretching away from the real facts as to any political application of those that existed, but unaccompanied by most of the former objections; and, at all events, leaving both his own and Mr. Flood's principles nearly where it found them at the commencement of the altercation. Mr. Grattan moved, that leave was "refused to bring in the (Mr. Flood's) Bill, because the sole and "exclusive right to legislate for Ireland in all cases whatsoever, "internally and externally, had been asserted by the Parliament of "Ireland, and had been fully, finally, and irrevocably acknowledged "by the British Parliament."

This resolution obviously stated some facts which did not exist. No final irrevocable acknowledgment ever had been made by the British Parliament. On the contrary, acts had been done, and declarations made by the Minister himself, that a future treaty would be necessary to render the arrangement full, final, or irrevocable.

Mr. Flood saw the weak point, and he possessed himself of it. He altered his language, became satiric, and ridiculed the resolution as the "innocent child of fiction and of fancy." He congratulated Mr. Grattan on changing his tone, and declared "that he would "willingly leave him in the full enjoyment of this new production of "his lively imagination." Mr. Grattan's motion then passed without further observation, and the House adjourned.

No further proceedings of importance took place in the House of Commons during the session, except two motions of Mr. Montgomery, of Cavan County, for leave to bring in a Bill to build Irish men of war

for the protection of the trade of Ireland. This motion appeared too distinct, and was of course negatived. He also moved for an address to the King, to reinstate Mr. Flood in his office of Vice-Treasurer, from which he had been dismissed for supporting his country. This would have been just, but it was not eligible. Mr. Fitzpatrick received it with civility, but it was also negatived, as encroaching on the prerogative; and on the 27th of July, the Duke of Portland prorogued the Parliament, with a speech detailing all the advantages Ireland had received under his paternal administration; and thus ended the public transactions of his Grace the Duke of Portland's first viceroyalty to the Irish nation.

This session of the Irish Parliament was the most interesting and important its history records. Important, not to Ireland only, but to the best interests of Great Britain; illustrative of the first and finest principles of civil liberty; and a lecture on the rights and foundations of rights, by the establishment of which alone the independence of nations can be attainable, or, being attained,—preserved. It displayed a scene of loyalty and of forbearance in the Irish nation, unequalled in the history of any armed people. It proved the possibility of an irresistible democratic power, roused without commotion; the entire population of an extensive country converted into a disciplined and independent army, to assert its liberties; yet, in the pursuit of that most animating of all objects, preserving perfect peace and substantial loyalty. It shewed an independent and patriotic army, able in one day to crush or to drive every relic of usurpation from

its shores for ever, with a moderation almost incredible; accepting, as a kind concession, those natural rights which it had the power of commanding; and, with a liberal and generous confidence, peculiar to its character, honourably, but fatally, insisting on no further guarantee for her constitution, than the faith of a government which had never before omitted an opportunity of deceiving her.

The Duke of Portland's proroguing speech to the Irish Parliament, July 27, 1782, is in itself the most unsophisticated tissue of hypocrisy on record, totally unparalleled in the history of the British Empire, or of any Minister who regarded either the law of nations, or the character of the sovereign. It was emphatically delivered by a Viceroy, who, a few years afterwards, in 1800, in his place in Parliament, unblushingly declared, that he *never* considered the treaty between England and Ireland (consummated by himself) as *final*. His Grace's speech, addressed, in the name of the King, to the assembled Peers and Commons of Ireland, on the prorogation of that Parliament, is of the greatest importance, as connected with the events of 1799 and 1800: and when that speech is compared with a subsequent speech of the same nobleman in the Peers of England, not only an Irish subject, but even a disinterested citizen of the world, would draw conclusions in no way favourable to his Grace's political integrity. It was, however, a useful lesson to all people, to trust their statesmen just so far and so long as their interest or their party called for their consistence.—His Grace was pleased to speak as follows:—

"The great and constitutional advantages you have secured to

" your country, and the wise and magnanimous conduct of Great " Britain, in contributing to the success of your steady and temperate " exertions, call for my congratulations, on the close of a session " which must ever reflect the highest honour on the national character " of both kingdoms.

" It must be a most pleasing consideration to you, to recollect, " that in the advances you made towards the settlement of your con- " stitution, no acts of violence or impatience have marked their " progress. A religious adherence to the laws, confined your en- " deavours within the strictest bounds of loyalty and good order; *your* " claims were directed by the *same* spirit that gave rise and stability " to the *liberty* of Great Britain, and could not fail of success, as soon " as the councils of that kingdom were influenced by the avowed " friends of the constitution.

" Many, and great national objects, must present themselves to " your consideration during the recess from parliamentary business; " but what I would most earnestly press upon you, as that on which " your domestic peace and happiness, and the prosperity of the Empire " at this moment, most immediately depend, is to cultivate and diffuse " those sentiments of affection and confidence which are now happily " restored between the two kingdoms; convince the people in your " several districts, as you are yourselves convinced, that every cause " of past jealousies and discontents *is finally removed*; that both " countries have *pledged* their *good faith* to each other, and that their " best security will be an *inviolable* adherence to *that compact*; that

" the implicit reliance which Great Britain has reposed on the honour, " generosity, and candour of Ireland, engages your national character " to a return of sentiments equally liberal and enlarged; convince " them that the two kingdoms are *now one*, indissolubly connected in " unity of *constitution*, and unity of interests; and that the danger " and security, the prosperity and calamity of the one, must equally " affect the other—that they stand and fall together."

After such a speech from the representative of Majesty—after the royal and viceroyal acknowledgment of a *treaty* between two *independent nations*, who can defend the measures afterwards taken by the very same nobleman to destroy that constitution which he eulogised, and annul that treaty which he had conferred? It is impossible to illustrate the credulity with which the Irish Parliament swallowed the insidious asseverations of that viceroy, than by a speech made by one of the warmest and most persevering, though weakest patriots of the Irish Parliament, who has been heretofore mentioned in this history.

Sir Edward Newenham said, that "he revered the Whig admi- " nistration of the *illustrious Duke of Portland*,—a nobleman not to be " excelled in virtuous principles and *candour*, far superior to *deceit* " or to every species of *corruption*. That nobleman merited respect; " he had proved himself the sincere friend to Ireland by his integrity; " the excessive influence of the crown would be diminished; for his " part, he never meanly courted a rising sun, though he might pay " respect to a setting luminary; and confident he was, that future " generations would *idolize* the *character*, and revere even the name, " of Bentinck."

CHAPTER V.

Mistaken Policy of British Ministers—Irish Credulity—New Ministry—Earl Temple sent over as Lord Lieutenant, accompanied by his Brother, Mr. (now Lord) Grenville—His public Character—Earl Temple's—They injudiciously alter the four Regiments of Horse Guards—This Measure displeases the Irish—Mr. Isaac Corry—His Character—Earl of Limerick—General Discontent—The Volunteers resolve that no British Statute should be obeyed in Ireland—Magistrates and Juries refuse to act—Dangerous Situation of Ireland—Unfortunate Dissention of Mr. Flood and Mr. Grattan—Sir George Young's Conduct in the British Parliament excites great Disturbance in Ireland—Augmented by that of Lord Mansfield, who continues to act as if the 6th of Geo. I. had not been repealed—Lord Abingdon's Conduct alarms the Nation—All Confidence ceases as to the Sincerity of England, and ulterior Measures by the People appear to have become necessary—Some distinguished Members of the Irish Parliament are brought over to Government.

Bills to carry into effect the concessions of England had been passed through the British Parliament with unusual expedition. The sixth of George the First, declaratory of the dependence of Ireland, had been repealed; and the arbitrary dictum of Blackstone, that favourite Druid of modern Britain, had been abandoned by his countrymen. But it quickly became obvious, that though Mr. Grattan's declaration of grievances had left to the Irish Parliament a certain latitude for reclaiming their constitutional rights in detail, he had not foreseen to what lengths those details might extend, or the danger of attempting

to conclude or narrow discussions on that intricate subject. His address to the King now appeared to have so contracted in its tenour the claims which the declaration of grievances, if not specifically, had virtually alluded to, that many of the most important of Irish constitutional rights had been thereby altogether passed over; and concessions of England had been accepted of, without those guarantees which the theretofore invariable practices and principles of British government rendered absolutely indispensable to the permanence and security of Irish independence.

Had the constitutional arrangement been complete and final, and the concessions of Great Britain as sincere as they appeared to be liberal, without any view to ulterior revocation, never would two nations have been placed in an attitude more powerful and imposing, or pregnant with happier consequences to the interests and prosperity of both;—they would have been firmly united by indissoluble ties, and bound to each other by a Gordian knot, which nothing but the scythe of Time could have divided. But unfortunately, England was not truly sincere. Her cabinet remained mentally intolerant; and Ireland, after ten years of unexampled prosperity, was destined to future miseries, again equally unforescen and unmerited.

It was for a moment supposed that commercial jealousies towards Ireland, those eternal enemies to every thing generous or cordial, had been at least partially excluded from British councils, to make room for a more just, liberal, and enlightened policy. Had it been so, the interests of both nations would have found their common level in their

mutual prosperity; the moral and physical powers of both would have been invigorated and embarked in the same cause, attracting and consolidating their united strength into one impenetrable mass, which would have defied all the enmities, the machinations, and the powers of united Europe.

Arrangements of such a nature, founded on so strong and broad a basis, might have been durable as the ancient towers of Ireland, of which even tradition cannot trace the origin, but which neither time nor the elements have as yet had the power to dilapidate. Ireland was disposed, for a time, to be contented with her Parliament:—suspicion is not one of her characteristic feelings;—she looked at every object through the sunny medium of her own bright and warm generosity, and threw herself at once into the arms of her sister country. She did not, or she would not, till forced by its glare upon her vision, see the false and fatal artifices by which her independence was surrounded. She disdained to suspect those on whom she had already lavished a noble confidence; and she fancied she beheld all her better fortunes circling like a glory round the brow of her new-born freedom.

A phenomenon so novel and captivating, absorbed for a time the reflection of the people, and concealed from them that treacherous reservation, which subsequent events have proved to have then lurked behind the faithless, but specious language of the yielding country.

However, the matter was suddenly brought to a decisive issue. After a lingering indisposition, the Marquess of Rockingham, the only

link which bound the Whig ministry together, ceased to exist. This loss was irreparable ;—the cabinet became incomplete, and could not be recruited ;—its members suspected each other,—and the nation suspected them ;—and, but a short period had elapsed, when the most unnatural and corrupt ministerial coalition in the annals of British government justified the suspicions of both the people and the parties, and taught Ireland what she might expect from the consistency of British ministers.

A temporary confusion was the consequence of the Marquess of Rockingham's death. However, an entire new ministry was formed, and public affairs in England appeared to be acquiring at least a semblance of some stability.

In Ireland, the scene entirely changed. The Marquess of Rockingham, no more,—the administration of England remodelled without being improved; and Earl Temple sent over to supersede the Duke of Portland, and to take his chance of governing and tranquillizing the Irish people, as circumstances might warrant.

His Excellency was accompanied to Ireland by his brother, Mr. (now Lord) Grenville, in the office of Chief Secretary ; a person not adapted to the habits of that people, the temper of the times, or the circumstances of the country ;—a proud English gentleman, deficient in that modulation and flexibility of character so useful to a minister, at times when he cannot controul, and so peculiarly serviceable at all periods to the temporary rulers of the Irish nation ; and as he and his family assumed a leading part, eighteen years after-

wards, in the suppression of that constitution which he then came over professedly to complete, it becomes necessary to allude to some of those public qualities which have distinguished that personage in his political capacities on both occasions.

Mr. Grenville had improved, by unremitting assiduity, whatever talents Nature had entrusted him with; and so far as they could be extended, he worked them up into very considerable reputation; and never failed to exercise them with firmness, though not always with discretion, and occasionally with inconsistency.

He commenced his public course in an Irish office, and he pursued it till he arrived at the British Cabinet.—In both he was efficient; but in the first he was mistaken, and in the latter he was overrated. Too unbending for the crown, and too aristocratic for the people, he sought influence from both without attaching himself to either; and, like the coffin of Mahomet, he was suspended between attractions. The popularity of the man was circumscribed by the austerity of the courtier; and the ambition of the courtier, counteracted by the inflexibility of the statesman. His powers were inferior to domination, but his pride superior to subserviency; his party therefore have been placed in a long abeyance, but which certainly could not be well justified, either by the policy of the State, or by the gratitude of the ruler.

The Viceroy, though a grander personage, was a very inferior statesman. He was a man of business; not less proud, yet rather

more accessible than his brother, and would have worked his way better had he been aided by a more elastic secretary. They both mistook their course; they began where they should have concluded; and acted upon the vain idea of diverting away the attention of an ardent people from an animating object, by the novel purity of pecuniary retrenchments. On this erroneous principle, they passed over more important concerns, and proceeded to the detection of official peculations with unprecedented activity; they even sacrificed to this delusive, and comparatively frivolous object,—one of the highest officers, and one of the most extensive political connexions in Ireland. Earl Temple and his brother thus setting to work steadily, as men of business, laboured to gain a confidence amongst the people by financial reforms, before they had established a foundation for deserving it by constitutional services.

However, few acts of the first Temple administration gave the Irish nation any important grounds for complaint or for suspicion. Every day discovered and exposed some new official delinquency, and every day brought its dismissals or its punishments. In other times, and under other circumstances, this meritorious exertion would have had its full weight, and received adequate approbation; but that moment was not an ordinary one; a financial reform was but a secondary object, and was soon considered rather as an interruption to the view of constitutional arrangement, and leading away the attention of the nation from great measures, by those of comparatively unim-

portant consequence*. This system failed in all its objects; the nation saw and despised the principle—they were not in a humour to relish naked financial arrangements—the idea of national independence had filled their minds, and popular tranquillity should have preceded finan-

* One of Lord Temple's superficial retrenchments gave great displeasure to the Irish people, and at the same time proved his entire ignorance of their character and their feelings. There had been, time immemorial, on the Irish establishment, four magnificent regiments of heavy cavalry (similar to the Life Guards of England), one of which was in constant attendance on the person of the Viceroy, as an insignia of royalty,—a pageantry, which added much to the dignity of the Irish court, and was peculiarly gratifying to the pride of the nation.

Those regiments were composed of the finest men who could be selected in Ireland, most of them of the better class of people; few of the privates were under six feet high, many of them much taller; their horses were the largest and finest that could be purchased, all black, with tails docked to about three inches in length. The clothing and accoutrements of the men and officers were remarkably splendid,—their facings black,—white,—green,—and blue, all richly laced; their large saddle-cloths scarlet, with broad gold lace; and the four regiments, when reviewed together, were quite unrivalled in size and power, except by the celebrated regiment of Frederick. Their pay was considerably more than regiments of the line, and they were the pride and favourites of the Irish people, though they were all Protestants.

On Lord Temple's arrival, he immediately, under the pretence of disinterested retrenchment, reduced those fine regiments to ordinary dragoons, diminished their pay, altered their dress, changed their horses, directed the enlistment of smaller men, and in fact took away from the pomp of the viceregal court its most splendid embellishment. It was a foolish act of the Viceroy, and an imperceptible saving to the nation.

cial retrenchment—then it would have been grateful, now it was contemptible.

The Viceroy, however, persevered in his official reformations; and though he obtained no credit from the body of the people, he appeared to make considerable progress amongst the aristocracy of the patriots.

Amongst those whom Lord Temple selected to aid him in this plausible reformation of public abuses, was a person, who, from that period, continued an active, and on some occasions, a distinguished member of the Irish Parliament. On the question of a Union, he made himself particularly remarkable, and had nearly ended his mortal* career in supporting the Minister.

Mr. Isaac Corry, the son of an eminent merchant in Newry, had been elected representative in Parliament for his native town, and

* In consequence of expressions used by Mr. Corry to Mr. Grattan, in the course of a debate upon the Union (which lasted all night), Mr. Grattan (before the sun rose) sent him an hostile message for an *instant* meeting. They went out immediately from the House of Commons; and, as the day broke, Mr. Corry received a ball from Mr. Grattan, which, but for the precautionary interposition of his left arm over his right side, must have been fatal. The wounded man was conveyed home, and the catastrophe announced to the House, many hours before its adjournment.

This rapid affair was humorously termed by Mr. Curran, "*Grattan's impromptu;*" and it was remarked, that the government members did not seem much to relish the *jeu d'esprit*, as they were *afterwards* particularly civil to Mr. Grattan during the whole residue of the Parliament.—*(Vide Post.)*

commenced his public life under the patronage of that dignified Irishman, Mr. John O'Neal, with great advantages. His figure and address were those of a gentleman, rather graceful and prepossessing; and though not regularly educated, he was not badly informed. He was a man of business, and a man of pleasure; he had glided over the surface of general politics, and collected the idioms of superficial literature; he possessed about a third rate public talent;—his class of elocution in Parliament was sometimes useful, and always agreeable; but on momentous subjects he was not efficient. In facing great questions, he frequently shrunk back—in facing great men, he was sufficiently assuming. His public principles were naturally patriotic; but his interests lost no time in adapting them to his purposes. He sought to acquire the character of an accomplished financier, but he was totally unequal to the mazes of financial speculation; and there he altogether failed. His private habits and qualities were friendly and engaging,—his public ones as correct as his interests would admit of.

As a reward for his fidelity to the Irish Minister of 1799, he succeeded in the first object of his life—the supplanting of Sir John Parnell in the Chancellorship of the Irish Exchequer. But it added little to his emolument, and nothing to his reputation. He wrangled through the Irish Union as a ministerial partisan, and exposed himself as a financier in the Imperial Parliament. His influence was neutralized when he lost his country—his pride was extinguished when he lost his office; and he was defeated at Newry, in which he thought himself established. Like others of his repenting countrymen, he withdrew

from public life, upon the purchase of his integrity, regretting past scenes, and disgusted with the passing ones. He lingered out his latter days in an inglorious retirement, the prey of chagrin, and the victim of unimportance. As a private friend, it is impossible but to regret him; as a public character, he has left but little of celebrity*.

* The present Earl of Limerick (then Mr. Perry) was a very intimate friend of Mr. Corry's. The Author had much intercourse and intimacy with both. After Lord Westmorland's departure, Mr. Corry communicated to the Author his great object of supplanting Sir John Parnell as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and suggested, that his friend Perry would aid its effectuation. The Author having much private friendship for both persons, but most for Sir John Parnell, felt embarrassed at the communication.

The Earl of Limerick was then in the House of Commons, and occasionally an active member,—always crafty, sometimes impetuous, and frequently efficient. He was prouder than he had a right to be, and bore no similitude to his illustrious uncle; but he was a convivial companion, and a steady friend. He had a sharp, quick, active intellect; he generally guessed right in his politics, and if he chanced to be wrong, he expertly patched up the failure of his judgment by his skill and perseverance. He was not deficient in talent, and had several good qualities, but was always too careless of affixing them to his reputation.

The Author and the Earl of Limerick were at one period very intimate; and though a family occurrence broke off that intimacy, and all personal intercourse ceased, the Author felt no indisposition towards that nobleman, or just grounds to relinquish his recollection of former friendship; but as Lord Limerick took a leading part in 1799, against that constitution which his uncle and benefactor had so nobly helped to establish, the Earl is herein mentioned by anticipation, as a close connexion and partisan for Mr. Corry when he was placed in Sir John Parnell's situation, who was dismissed for his integrity.

This gentleman, by arithmetic and assiduity, became of considerable use to Earl Temple in his detections, and was immediately placed in office by that Viceroy.

Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan, dazzled by those specious appearances, placed much confidence in, and formed somewhat of a political connexion with, the new Lord Lieutenant. But they soon found that it had become imperatively necessary to change the tone of their representations to Government; and during the recess of Parliament, they adopted language very different from, and much stronger than that which they had conceived to be sufficient during the last administration. The interval between the prorogation and the meeting of a new Parliament, comprised a period of great importance in Irish history, and merits considerable attention, as bearing strongly on the subsequent transactions which extinguished its constitution.

The armed volunteers had now assumed a deliberative capacity. Political subjects became topics of regular organized discussion, in every district of Ireland, and amongst every class and description of its population. They paraded as soldiers, and they debated as citizens; and but few days passed over, in which they did not exercise in both capacities. The names of more than 150,000 volunteers now appeared upon their regimental muster-rolls; a great proportion of them prepared to join their standards the moment their country demanded their exertions;—an army so constituted, must have been strong—and an army so animated, must have been invincible.

The Catholics now became also practically active in the same cause —considerable bodies of that sect now took up arms,—formed regiments in several districts, and placed themselves entirely under the command and controul of their Protestant officers and fellow-subjects. All was unanimity in the armed bodies; but a general discontent and suspicion, as to the conduct of Great Britain, appeared in rapid progress; and proceedings more than usually alarming were occurring every moment throughout the whole nation.

Many collateral and important constitutional points now successively appeared to have been omitted in the claim of rights; and many remained unaffected by the repeal of the English statute, but which sooner or later must necessarily give rise to new and great collisions. The debates of the last Session, inconclusive in their results, had, without remedying these difficulties, inflamed the people; and a new paroxysm of discontent actually seized upon the entire population. The volunteers, however, soon placed the matter beyond all doubt or argument; they again entered into decisive resolutions, no longer to obey, or suffer to be obeyed, any statute or law *theretofore* enacted in England, and to oppose their execution with their lives and fortunes*. The magistrates refused to act under them—the judges were greatly embarrassed—no legal causes could be proceeded on under the autho-

* A few resolutions of the volunteer corps will serve to shew the spirit and temper of the whole:—the most important ones will be detailed in the Appendix.

rity of any of the British statutes*, though naming Ireland—no counsel would plead them—no juries would find for them—the operation of

* *Resolutions, County of* MONAGHAN.—*We, the* HIGH SHERIFF, *Foreman, and* GRAND JURY *of the County of Monaghan, assembled,* LENT ASSIZES 1782:—

" Thinking it now peculiarly necessary to declare our sentiments respecting the funda-
" mental and undoubted rights of this nation, We do unanimously declare, that we will,
" in every situation of life, and with all the means in our power, assert and maintain the
" constitutional rights of this kingdom, to be governed by such laws only as are enacted by
" the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland,—and that we will, in *every* instance, uni-
" formly and strenuously *oppose* the execution of any statutes, except such as derive
" authority from said Parliament, *pledging* ourselves to our *country,* and to each other,
" to support, with our *lives* and *fortunes,* this our solemn declaration; and further, we bind
" ourselves, that we will yearly renew this necessary vindication of our rights, until such
" time as they shall be *explicitly* acknowledged, and *firmly established.*

" THOMAS CORRY, Sheriff,

" SAMUEL MADDEN, Foreman, and Fellows."

Resolutions entered into by the Corps of DUBLIN VOLUNTEERS, *on Friday, the 1st of March,* 1782,—*His Grace the* DUKE OF LEINSTER *in the Chair.*

" Resolved, That Great Britain and Ireland are, and ought to be, inseparably con-
" nected, by being under the dominion of the *same King,* and enjoying *equal* liberty and
" similar *constitutions.*

" That the King, Lords, and Commons, of *Ireland only,* are competent to make laws,
" binding the subjects of this realm; and that we will not *obey,* or give operation to *any*
" laws, save only those enacted by the King, *Lords,* and *Commons* of *Ireland,* whose rights
" and *privileges, jointly* and *severally,* we are determined to *support* with our *lives and*
" *fortunes.*

" Signed (by order) " JOHN WILLIAMS, Sec."

many important laws, theretofore in force, was necessarily suspended; and matters seemed verging towards great perplexity. The general dissatisfaction made rapid progress, assumed a more decisive attitude, and every discreet person became alarmed for the consequences.

The discussion and arrangement of those numerous constitutional and legal difficulties, though complicated and irritating, appeared absolutely indispensable. It became impossible longer to support the terms of the address to His Majesty, or to argue that "all constitutional questions between the two nations were at an end for ever;"—the fact was practically negatived, and all reasoning on the sufficiency of the simple repeal, daily lost its weight amongst the people.

Whilst these important subjects were in agitation, and many men's opinions remained undecided in Ireland, the conduct of the British Parliament and of the British Ministry justly confirmed all the suspicions which had been entertained as to the sincerity of Great Britain. Every day during the session of Parliament discord had been augmenting: Mr. Flood was frequently victorious in the argument; but Mr. Grattan was always victorious in the majority. Their contests were, at first, moderate; but, at length, discretion was abandoned on both sides, and gave way to altercations, abounding in eloquence, but too personal and too acrimonious to be recorded in these memoirs.

This violent difference of opinion between those two great men of course communicated its effects, more or less, amongst all their

supporters, and became injurious to the general cause of the country. Mr. Grattan firmly believed that he was right; and he would not recede. His pertinacity formed a rallying station for some of the old courtiers, who hated both men, but Mr. Flood most, and gave them a pretence for their re-embodying against the country. Strong parties in Parliament had assailed Mr. Flood: he stood at bay, and no local statesman ever shewed more talent, more judgment, more constitutional knowledge, and effective firmness, than he did in this memorable contest.

This divided state of the Irish nation was exactly what the Ministry were desirous to bring about. It somewhat discredited all the Irish parties, gave breathing time to the British Cabinet; and if disunion had extended itself materially to the people, it would have given the Government an opportunity of making arrangements entirely conformable to their own objects. This dividing system, however, became entirely defeated by the injudicious conduct of some Members of the British Parliament, who could not restrain their chagrin at concessions which they disapproved of; but carried by their zeal beyond their discretion, their injudicious conduct united parties in Ireland, as against a common enemy.

Events now rapidly succeeded each other, to impress the Irish nation with a thorough conviction that they had to deal with a Government, from whom, neither political sincerity nor cordial concession could be further expected.

Sir George Young, a member of the British Parliament, neither a native nor a resident of Ireland, had been placed in the office of

Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, as a sinecure reward for his Parliamentary support of the British Government*.

He was, of course, a man most obnoxious to the Irish nation. This gentleman, the official dependent and avowed partisan of the British Cabinet, from his place in the House of Commons, decidedly opposed all concessions to Ireland; and took occasion to disclaim all power of the King to relinquish, by the royal assent, the legislative supremacy which England had enjoyed over the concerns of Ireland. The effect of such a speech, by such a person, at such a moment, was

* Sir George Young had been placed in the office of Vice Treasurer of Ireland,—a sinecure of large income, resigned, on demand, by Mr. Flood. It was an office during *pleasure* only; and therefore no person holding that office could act *contrary* to the desire, either expressed or *implied*, of the Government which had appointed him. So circumstanced, Sir George Young did *oppose* the Bills of *Concession* to Ireland, and the *repeal* of 6th George I. which had been brought in by the British *Ministers* themselves; and he also *protested* against the *power* of passing such Bills by the English Parliament, or of the King relinquishing the inherent rights of the British Legislature to *legislate* for Ireland.

No person, therefore, could suppose, that Sir George Young, a *dependent* placeman, and partisan of the British Ministers, *durst* have so acted, or have ostensibly opposed the King and his *Government*, without the express desire or implied concurrence of the Ministers themselves; and though Sir George Young, simply as an individual, appeared to make but a contemptible figure, his opposition was obviously of much greater importance, as being clearly in the nature of a *recorded protest* in Parliament, originating from the *Ministers themselves*, or a higher *source*, and with some deep *ulterior* object; and decidedly intended to prevent the appearance of that *entire* unanimity which was so desirable on that great question. He certainly succeeded in doing as much mischief as such a man and such conduct was capable of executing.

almost electrical; but a much weightier authority against the independence of Ireland soon succeeded it. Lord Mansfield, though one of the greatest, was an arbitrary, and, in some points, one of the most mischievous judges that ever sat upon the English Bench, proceeded, notwithstanding the repeal of the 6th of George the First by the British Parliament, to entertain, in the Court of King's Bench, at Westminster, an Appeal from the Court of King's Bench of Ireland; observing, that "he knew of no law depriving the *British* Court of "its vested jurisdiction*."

* Lord Mansfield gave as his reason for this reassumption of jurisdiction, that the appeal had been lodged before the statute of 6th of George I. had been repealed; and that, at all events, he did not perceive *any clause* in that statute abrogating *his* jurisdiction to entertain appeals from Ireland; but it was strongly suspected, his Lordship had still stronger motives than a lust for trouble and jurisdiction.

The interest of money in England was only *five* per cent., in Ireland it was *six;* and Lord Mansfield had placed very large sums on Irish mortgages, to gain the additional one per cent. His Lordship well knew that such Irish investments were, in their nature, a troublesome species of security; but that they were not likely to gain any additional facilities by the appellant's jurisdiction being taken from the British Courts and transferred to Ireland herself:—hence his Lordship's reluctance to part with it.

He was also a very national Scotsman, and never could reconcile himself to the superiority which an acknowledged independence of Ireland must have given to that nation over his departmental country.

These considerations were not concealed by his Lordship. He was forced however to yield to circumstances; but he never did it with a good grace.

In one word, the repeal of the 6th George I. appeared to most men constitutionally inconclusive; the supremacy of England was reasserted by its own Chief Justice, and Ireland appeared still subject to a struggle for an important branch of her independence.

The effect of this proceeding was sufficiently alarming; but another exciting circumstance immediately took place, of a still higher order. The English Parliament passed an Act, regulating the importation of sugars from St. Domingo to all His Majesty's dominions in Europe. Ireland was a part of His Majesty's dominions in Europe; and this statute was construed as of course embracing Ireland, and thereby constituting an act of external legislation over Irish concerns, by the King of England, and Parliament of Great Britain, without the concurrence of the Irish legislature. This, however, was rather a refinement of construction; but the conduct of Lord Abingdon, in the British Lords, rendered all further confidence in the state of the arrangement between the two countries, as it then stood, totally inadmissible:—it was too explicit to be mistaken.

Lord Abingdon, equally adverse to the rights of Ireland, followed, in the House of Peers, the example of Sir George Young in the House of Commons; and totally denying the authority of the King and the Parliament of England to emancipate Ireland, he moved for leave to bring in a declaratory Bill to reassert the right of England to legislate externally in the *concerns* of Ireland. This remarkable Bill stated, "that the Kings of England being masters of the British Seas for "eighteen centuries, and the Western Sea, which surrounded Ireland, "belonging to the Kings of England, the British Parliament had the "sole right to make laws to regulate the commerce of Ireland," &c.

It was impossible now for the Irish nation longer to remain silent. The aggregate of all these circumstances went clearly to a simultaneous attack upon the new independence of Ireland, and a decisive

proof of what might occur when Great Britain acquired sufficient vigour to reassert, with any prospect of enforcing her supremacy.

Lord Abingdon's attempt was candid and direct, and, above all others, alarmed the Irish people. The Volunteers beat to arms throughout the whole kingdom. All confidence in the sincerity of the Ministry—its Cabinet—its Officers—its Parliament, was dissipated; and there were not wanting persons who believed and disseminated their opinion, that the rights of Ireland were actually betrayed. The danger and confusion of the times hourly increased; Mr. Flood preserved his firmness and his dignity, and gained much ground amongst the people. The repeal of the 6th George I. could no longer be urged as a guarantee; the sincerity of England could no longer be relied upon; the people began to act for themselves; and the Irish Government was driven back to its old practices, and endeavoured, by every means within its power, to diminish the number and overwhelming weight of their Parliamentary opponents. But though Mr. Yelverton was virtually purchased by the office of Attorney-General, Sir Samuel Bradstreet neutralized by being made a judge, and Mr. Dennis Daley, silenced by ministerial blandishment, clung to his office, and devoted himself to the Government *, still the

* This gentleman has been much extolled by most of his contemporaries. The Author, who had frequent opportunities of hearing and observing him on public occasions, cannot go the full length of his more intimate eulogists. He was a man of excellent understanding, —a strong,—vigorous,—national mind, furnished with that degree of talent which lies near the top of the second rate; but he was too prone to keep his laboratory in the Castle, and his

Country had the Volunteers and the People: the British Cabinet trembled for the consequences of their own duplicity; and though they had not courage to relinquish their system, they reluctantly perceived it was totally inoperative. Government at length became sensible to the dangers of their situation. They felt the impossibility of further evasion; and early in the ensuing Session the British Ministry and the British Parliament, without any stimulating debate, and without waiting for further and peremptory remonstrances from Ireland, passed the most important statute * that ever had been enacted

holidays in Parliament, to have been as effectually useful to Ireland as such a man might have been. His clear understanding convinced him that the legislative independence of his country was absolutely essential to its general prosperity, and he acted upon that principle; but he had a curbing aristocratic tendency, which stopped him short on the superficial acquirement of that independence; and he resisted the ulterior measures which were necessary to *guarantee* it. Though he humbled himself by the acceptance of a sinecure office, and resisted Parliamentary reform, yet he died beloved and regretted. He was a man of an uncommon fine person, powerful, vigorous structure, and most prepossessing countenance. He had more personal bravery than political fortitude. His eloquence was more finished than substantial, and though men always admired his elocution, they were not very frequently convinced by his argument.

* *Anno Vicesimo Tertio.*

GEORGII III. REGIS.

CAP. XXVIII.

An Act for removing and preventing all doubts which have arisen, or might arise, concerning the exclusive Rights of the Parliament and Courts of Ireland, in matters of legislation and judicature; and for preventing any writ of error or appeal from any of His

as to the affairs of Ireland,—a statute unequivocally and explicitly renouncing all *future* right to legislation for Ireland. They thereby

Majesty's Courts in that kingdom, from being received, heard, and adjudged in any of His Majesty's Courts in the Kingdom of Great Britain.—Whereas, by an Act of the last Session of this present Parliament, (intituled An Act to repeal an Act, made in the Sixth Year of the Reign of his Late Majesty King George the First, intituled An Act for the better securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain), it was enacted, that the said last-mentioned Act, and all matters and things therein contained, should be repealed: And whereas, doubts have arisen whether the provisions of the said Act are sufficient to secure to the people of Ireland the Rights claimed by them to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majesty and the Parliament of that Kingdom, in all cases whatever, and to have all actions and suits at law, or in equity, which may be instituted in that Kingdom, decided in His Majesty's Courts therein finally, and without appeal from thence: Therefore, for removing all doubts respecting the same, may it please your Majesty that it may be declared and enacted, and be it declared and enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said Right claimed by the *people of Ireland*, to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majesty and the Parliament of *that* Kingdom, in *all* cases whatever, and to have all actions and suits at law or in equity, which may be instituted in that Kingdom, decided in His Majesty's Courts therein finally, and without appeal from thence, shall be, and it is hereby declared to be ESTABLISHED and ascertained FOR EVER, and *shall*, at NO TIME HEREAFTER, BE QUESTIONED or questionable.

2nd.—And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that no writ of error or appeal shall be received or adjudged, or any other proceeding be had by or in any of His Majesty's Courts in this Kingdom, in any action or suit at law or in equity, instituted in any of His Majesty's Courts in the Kingdom of Ireland; and that all such writs, appeals,

appeared to have abrogated for ever that principle of legislative usurpation which they had for so many ages pertinaciously and unjustly exercised.

This most important measure was brought into the British House of Commons by Mr. Townshend,—passed through both Houses, and received the Royal assent without debate, and even very little observation. In England it was cautiously and discreetly held out neither in the light of a new concession to Ireland, nor of a relinquishment of any then existing supremacy of Great Britain; but as a consequential *declaratory* part of a general constitutional arrangement entered into between the two nations.

In Ireland it was represented as not presuming to create a new, but merely to define a pre-existing constitution. These were wise constructions, and in these points of view gave no alarm nor jealousy to either countries; while it seemed to consummate the desires and objects of the Irish nation. England affected now to have surrendered all the interests and concerns, constitutional and commercial, external and internal, which Ireland claimed, into the hands and guardianship

or proceedings shall be, and they are hereby declared null and void to all intents and purposes; and that all records, transcripts of records, or proceedings, which have been transmitted from Ireland to Great Britain, by virtue of any writ of errror or appeal, and upon which no judgment has been given or decree pronounced, before the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two, shall, upon application made by or in behalf of the party in whose favour judgment was given, or decree pronounced in Ireland, be delivered to such party, or any person by him authorised to apply for and receive the same.

of her own legislature. To many, this great and finishing concession appeared a conclusive, magnanimous, and sapient measure of the British Ministry. Irish freedom appeared complete; her independence as a nation legislatively acknowledged for *ever*. The great outline of her constitution appeared to have been drawn irrevocably,—the possibility of reassumption was regarded as chimerical,—and nothing but commercial arrangements remained to be adjusted by the mutual good will, and according to the reciprocal interests of the two nations. For a moment, general happiness, great cordiality, and invincible strength seemed to be in store for the British Empire, as the result and reward of this wise and honourable confederacy of two independent nations. An union of powers and of interests more dignified, substantial, and invigorating to a people, and more ennobling to an empire, never had existed. And it is grievous to contrast that moment of pride and strength with the desolating measure which in eighteen years afterwards sacrificed the pledged honour and good faith of one nation, to annihilate the independence and paralize the prosperity of another *.

This legislative renunciation of British supremacy, however, appeared to some in a totally different point of view. Mr. Grattan, and many persons of great talent, considered that statute rather a confirmation than a relinquishment of British supremacy, and still adhered more strongly to the adequacy of simple repeal in preference to such a renunciation; and many considered that it did not go

* A full experience of twenty-five years has proved unanswerably the truth of this observation.

far enough. The arguments on both sides were carried on with great warmth and pertinacity. The Barristers' corps of volunteers, after a long discussion, had previously made a strong report upon that subject; and the doubtful security of Irish independence was debated upon the construction of that very statute which affected to confirm it.

This Act of renunciation, however, appeared superficially to have a conclusive operation. It was conceived by many, that nothing further was necessary to be done, but such as the Irish Parliament was now in itself competent to enact. But though the measure tended to give a strong confidence in the good intentions of the British Parliament, it came too late to satisfy the Irish people as to the purity of their own. On the contrary, it convinced them of either its inefficiency or its corruption, or the Renunciation Act of the British Parliament would have been totally unnecessary. Mr. Flood's argument now appeared not only triumphant in Ireland, but fully acknowledged, and legislatively acted upon, even by Great Britain herself. The unfortunate opposition in the Irish Commons, and the still more unfortunate majorities of that House, which had scouted doctrines and measures thus subsequently admitted to be just and necessary, by the voluntary acts of England herself, made a deep impression on the Volunteers of Ireland.

It was true they had acquired their liberties, they had gained their independence; but they still had to secure it. The Renunciation Act of England had discredited the Irish Parliament with the Irish people. But it had its apology. It had been so long enfeebled and corrupted,—so long within the iron trammels of usurpation, that the

chain had become habitual, and therefore it was more to be dreaded that its broken links might be rivetted anew; and Ireland, in lapse of time, sink again under the same power which had originally enslaved it. The Irish Declaration of Rights had been one of those sudden events which ages might not again produce; it was the powerful struggle of an enslaved people, and the irresistible energy of an extraordinary man, uniting to command the acquiescence of a corrupt legislature.

Without the people, the Parliament would have been neutralized; and without the man, the people would have been unsupported: and it was indisputable, that whilst the work remained as yet unfinished, the Irish Parliament had slackened in its duties, and relapsed into its old habits of a corrupt and indolent confidence, contrary to every principle of prudence and foresight, and the opinion of the nation:—the Irish people, therefore, as they gave credit to the British Parliament for voluntarily conceding what their own Parliament had refused, naturally lost all confidence in the future conduct and purity of their own legislature;—a suspicion but too justly founded, and which has given rise to consequences deeply interesting to the fate of that country.

CHAPTER VI.

Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan content with simple Repeal—Mr. Flood and the Volunteers insist on ulterior Measures—Great Animosity between Mr. Flood and Mr. Grattan—Injurious Results to Ireland—Comparison of Mr. Flood and Mr. Grattan—Arguments of Mr. Flood for a Renunciation by England—Mr. Grattan's Reasons against it, in a Letter to the Author—Fac Simile of that Letter—New Difficulties arise—Volunteers discuss the Question of Parliamentary Reform—Arguments for it—State of the Representation—First Grounds for the National Convention—Mr. Curran—His Character—Extraordinary Wit and unparalleled Eloquence—Inefficiency as a Judge—Resigns the Bench—His Duel with Lord Clare—With Mr. Egan, and his extraordinary Duel with Major Hobart (Earl of Buckinghamshire)—His Portrait, and Bon Mot on it—Dies in Obscurity at Brompton.

THESE historic incidents have been anticipated to give a clearer insight into the interesting and important debates which immediately preceded them. During the Marquis of Rockingham's lifetime, Earl Charlemont, always virtuous but often feeble, had found something most congenial to himself in the refined habits and mild plaintive disposition of that nobleman; and was led, by his love of order, to conceive a visionary amalgamation of popular rights and ministerial generosity; and the fundamental object of all British Cabinets—disunion amongst Patriots, seemed not unlikely to gain much ground through so debilitating a doctrine. Those who were guided by Lord Charlemont's tranquil credulity and courtly moderation, were disposed to be content with simple repeal. But Mr. Flood saw the crisis, and had boldly thrown down the gauntlet. Mr. Grattan had as boldly taken it

up, and direct hostilities commenced; and the same Parliament, which for a moment had been all confidence and unanimity, arrayed itself for combat under two powerful leaders. Mr. Flood had become most prominent amongst the Irish patriots; he was a man of profound abilities, high manners, and great experience in the affairs of Ireland. He had deep information, an extensive capacity, and a solid judgment. His experience made him sceptical—Mr. Grattan's honesty made him credulous. Mr. Grattan was a great patriot—Mr. Flood was a great statesman. The first was qualified to achieve the liberties of a country—the latter to untangle a complicated constitution. Grattan was the more brilliant man—Flood the prouder senator. Flood was the wiser politician—Grattan was the purer. The one used more logic—the other made more proselytes. Unrivalled, save by each other, they were equal in their fortitude; but Grattan was the more impetuous. Flood had qualities for a great Prince—Grattan for a virtuous one; and a combination of both would have made a glorious Monarch. They were great enough to be in contest—but they were not great enough to be in harmony; both were too proud, but neither had sufficient magnanimity to merge his jealousies in the cause of his country.

It was deeply lamented that at a moment, critical and vital to Ireland beyond all former precedent, an inveterate and almost vulgar hostility should have prevented the co-operation of men, whose counsels and talents would have secured its independence. But that jealous lust for undivided honour, the eternal enemy of patriots and of liberty, led them away even beyond the ordinary limits of Parliamentary

decorum. The old courtiers fanned the flame—the new ones added fuel to it—and the independence of Ireland was eventually lost by the distracting result of their animosities, which in a few years was used as an instrument to annihilate that very legislature, the preservation of which had been the theme of their hostilities.

This irreconcileable difference of opinion between two of the ablest men of Ireland, generated the most ruinous consequences for that ill-fated country. Both had their adherents, as pertinacious as themselves. The simple repeal had contented Mr. Grattan and Earl Charlemont; the Renunciation Act was enforced by the perseverance of Mr. Flood and the people, and still considered inconclusive. Both parties adhered to their own conviction—nothing could warp the opinions of either—and to the days of their deaths, their opinions remained unaltered; and events proved that *both* of them were mistaken.

By those two statutes,—by daily political discussions amongst the Volunteers,—and by a multitude of literary publications, circulated with activity, the people were at length informed of the plain, true facts of their own case and situation. They were reminded, as at their first formation, that Great Britain had long usurped the power of binding Ireland by acts of their own Parliament, and that Ireland had thereby been reduced to a state of constitutional slavery; that the British Government, intending to carry its usual usurpation to an extraordinary length, had passed an Act in "the British Parliament," during the reign of George the First, "binding Ireland by British statutes," cutting off at once every branch of Irish

liberty*;—that this statute did not affect to originate any new power by England; but declared peremptorily that such a right had always existed in the English Parliament, and always would be acted upon when it suited the convenience of the British Ministry. They were reminded, that when the Irish nation became too wise and too powerful to be longer retained in subjection, England (in order to pacify the Irish nation) had herself voluntarily repealed that statute declaratory of her pre-existing power; but did not, by that repeal, renounce the right which she had so long exercised, nor did she in any way declare that she would never *re-enact it*;—that the same right remained, in abeyance; nor had England admitted, in any way, that she had been originally erroneous in enacting it.

* When the Author uses the term Liberty, as connected with Ireland, lest his application of that term might be *misconceived*, he thinks it right to state that he applies the term "liberty," *previous to* 1782, in contra-distinction to the *then* existing constitutional subserviency of that country. From 1782 to 1800, he uses it as a constitutional quality, *actually* and fully *enjoyed* by Ireland; and *after* 1800, as a constitutional quality actually *relinquished*; because he thinks, and always has thought, and that in unison with the avowed opinion of many of the King's present law-officers and judges of Ireland, that no *detached* distinct nation can be said to possess the attributes of a *constitutional liberty* without a resident legislature of her own, to regulate her own concerns; and because he conceives the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, considered *abstractedly* as a *union*, has too much of the "*imperium in imperio*" remaining, to be a *perfect* union of two nations; and too little of it to be a *federal compact*; and he considers that the tie of connexion between England and Ireland, as it stood on the 1*st day of January*, 1800, was the most *perfect*, firm, and advantageous union (illustrating the term "liberty"), that human wisdom could have devised.

These being the plain and undisputed facts of the case, it was thence argued that the mere repeal of the declaratory statute, so far from definitively renouncing the existing right of legislation over Ireland, virtually confirmed it; and, by repealing, only enacted the expediency of discontinuing its exercise under existing circumstances. The statute which had *declared* that there existed such a pre-existing right in England to bind Ireland, was indeed repealed by England; but still the principle of supremacy was left untouched and unimpaired; though the declaration was repealed, the right was not renounced, but remained only dormant till it might be advisable, under a change of circumstances, to re-declare it by a new statute.

The simple repeal of any statute certainly leaves the original jurisdiction untouched, exactly in the same situation as before the repeal of it, and with an undiminished right to re-enact it as might be convenient: and the 6th of George the First, its enactment and repeal, stood exactly in the same situation as any enactment and repeal of any ordinary statute of the same monarch. It was therefore argued, that it had become indispensably necessary for the security of Ireland that the British Parliament should, by statutes of their own, not only repeal the Act declaratory of Irish dependence, but also expressly and for ever renounce the *existence* of any such legislative *authority* over Ireland, or future renewal of such usurpation, without which renunciation Ireland had no guarantee for her constitution.

Had the statute of George the First been an assumption of a new authority to legislate for Ireland, its simple repeal would have at once

admitted the usurpation of such modern assumption; but as that statute was the recognition and declaration of pre-existing authority, coeval with the British Parliament itself, a repeal could not be binding on any future Parliament which might, at any future time, be disposed to re-enact it.

But a statute of the British Parliament and the King of England, by his royal assent, directly renouncing the pre-existence of such assumed right by England, pledged all future Parliaments, (as far as Parliaments can be pledged,) to the same principle, and also definitively pledged all future Kings of England against any future re-assumption or exercise of such power over the Kingdom of Ireland; and though the Kings of England and Ireland must always be the same individual, the realms were totally distinct, their crowns were distinct, though on the same head; and Ireland, possessing her own independent legislature, any such future attempt by a King of England would then be a direct breach of the law of nations, and a dereliction of his Irish office by the King of Ireland.

These arguments * became a universal subject of discussion; and were rendered of still greater interest by debates, which every day arose on other points interwoven with the arrangements. Numerous

* The arguments used by Mr. Flood and Mr. Grattan on this intricate point, and which finally decided the fate of Ireland, branched out into so many parts,—were debated with such ability by both parties, that though the arguments may be compressed, the strength and beauty of the language never can be given in any publication. At all events, those arguments have been published by a number of persons, and partly appear in Mr. Grattan's speeches, published by his son. The Author, however, never being on that

British statutes had been enacted, expressly naming and legislating for Ireland, as if enacted by its own parliaments. All these remained still in activity, and great inconvenience must necessarily have arisen from an immediate and indiscriminate suspension of their operation. None were enacted in Ireland to supply their places; and great difficulties were occurring. Modern England could not be humiliated by generously declaring that her ancestors had exceeded their constitutional authority as to Ireland. On the contrary, it should have been her proudest boast to have done justice by avowing it. This was not humiliation,—it was true glory; and when England, shortly afterwards, actually renounced for ever, by the act of her own legisla-

point of the same opinion as Mr. Grattan, mentioned to him his dissent and his difficulty as to the terms in which he should publish the points and issue of those arguments; and the Author has no mode so authentic as by Mr. Grattan's letter to himself on that subject, obviously not a private one, but rather intended, in points of subject, to be made public. The Author also feels himself bound to fulfil the last wishes of Mr. Grattan, expressed to himself on that subject, by publishing, in the final Appendix to this work, the coinciding reasons of Mr. Grattan himself, Lord Yelverton, Mr. Hussey Burgh, and other men of great abilities, on that same point. Mr. Grattan was so good as to send the Author a copy of this valuable document, and it will be given verbatim in the Appendix, according to his wishes.

The Author being unfortunately of a different opinion on that point, gave his own expressed sentiments by letter in reply to Mr. Grattan, and probably thereby exposed his own errors, most certainly his inferiority; but there is no accounting for opinion, and still less for pertinacity; and the Author never, in a single instance, changed any political opinion on any important subject, unless forced to yield to circumstances, which, during his time, have so frequently occurred, beyond all human calculation.

ture, her domination over Ireland, she could not have been much gratified by the temporizing complaisance of the Irish Parliament.

It is also very remarkable, that though Mr. Walshe and the Recorder alone divided against the address of Mr. Grattan, in a very short time afterwards there was scarcely a Member of Parliament, or a man in Ireland, who did not concur decidedly in their opinions; and even the British ministry and the British legislature, by their own voluntary act, confirmed their doctrine. Public discussions on one great subject seldom fail to involve reflections upon others, and these naturally brought the Irish people to discuss the imperfections of their own Commons House of Parliament, and to perceive that, without a comprehensive reform of that department, there was no security against the instability of events and the duplicity of England *.

* The arguments of this important question are too prolix for the text of these Memoirs; but, as Mr. Grattan requested, they will appear in a compressed form in the general Appendix.

The following letter, however, from Mr. Grattan to the Author, appearing to throw new and material light upon the subject, and to develope the individual views and politics of Mr. Grattan himself, more clearly than any speech or document heretofore published, the Author gives it to the public. He publishes it also (now that the writer is no more) as the most honourable and decisive refutation of those vicious calumnies which the obdurate malevolence of a rancorous Chancellor, and the vulgar libels of a muddling Corporation, endeavoured to cast upon the most disinterested and steady friend of British connexion.

This letter also proves, more than volumes, the insincerity of the Duke of Portland

Their late constitutional acquirements, though apparently confirmed beyond the power of revocation, might be yet a precarious

and the English Government: their distinction between the words "recognised" and "established," leaves their political *reservation* beyond the reach of scepticism.

This letter shews palpably the ruin that a want of *co-operation* between two great men brought upon the country; and, above all, it incidentally exposes the courtly, credulous, and feeble politics of Earl Charlemont, so injurious to the public cause, and so depressing to the vigour and energies of its greatest advocate.

To Mr. Ponsonby's *remissness*, on a future crisis, is attributable the ultimate loss of the Irish legislature, as Lord Charlemont's political courtesy was, on this, fatal to its security:—patriots without energy, as bees without stings, may buzz in sun-shine, but can neither defend their hive, nor assail their enemy.

"*House of Commons, London,*

"*March 2nd.*

"My Dear Barrington,

"I am excessively sorry that your health has been impaired, and I hope "it will soon be restored.

"I will get you the Whig-Club resolution. They proposed to obtain an internal "reform of Parliament, in which they partly succeeded: they proposed to prevent "an union, in which they failed.

"The address that declared no political question remained between the two countries, "had in view to stop the growth of demand, and preserve entire the annexation of "the Crown. It was, to us, an object to prevent any future political discussion touching "the relative state of the two countries; because we might not be so strong as in that "moment. And it was an object to us, and to the English minister, to guard against "any discussion that might shake the connexion to which we were equally attached.

FAC-SIMILE

of an original letter from the Rt. Hon.ble Henry Grattan to Sir Jonah Barrington. March 2nd 1819.

House of Commons
London
March 2d

My dear Barrington

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For wished sincerely for

the Liberty of Ireland without
reserve, he was an enemy
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freedom to be annexed to
his name — the act of
repeal was a part of a treaty
with England — a declaratory
act of title is the affirmance
of the existence of a former
title — the repeal is a dis-
affirmance of the existence
of any such former title — the
more so when accompanied by a
transfer of the possession
— & the transfer of the
final jurisdiction & the
legislature for the so long

on both side — I can get you
9 loads published by his authority
I am excessively thankful —
for the many handsome
things you have said of me

yours most truly
Henry Grattan

March 2

Engraved by Sidn. Hall, Bury Str.

tenure, whilst Ireland had a House of Commons so framed and elected as to be susceptible of relapse into its former degradation; and though

" Fox wished sincerely for the liberty of Ireland without reserve. He was an enemy to an " union, and wished the freedom to be annexed to his name.

" The Act of repeal was a part of a treaty with England. A declaratory Act of title " is the affirmance of the existence of a former title: the repeal is a disaffirmance of any " such former title; the more so when accompanied by a transfer of the possession, *viz.* the " transfer of the final judicature and the legislation for the colony-trade of the new " acquired Islands, made in consequence of a protest by Ireland against the claim of " England.

" The repeal was not any confession of usurpation: it was a disclaimer of any right. " You must suppose what I have said, *unsaid.* A man of spirit may say *that;* but he " will hesitate to unsay *word by word.* That was the case of England. She would not in " so many words *confess* her usurpation, nor did she; on the contrary, when they pressed " her, she exercised the power, and said, ' The constitution of Ireland is established " and ascertained in future by the authority of the British Parliament.' It was proposed " in the House of Commons to change the words, and say, ' recognised for ever.' They " agreed to the words ' for ever,' and refused the word ' recognised,' and kept in the word " ' established.' This I call making Ireland free with the vengeance.

" I wish, in your History, you would put down the argument on both sides. I can " get you Flood's, published by his authority.

" I am excessively thankful for the many handsome things you have said of me.

" Yours most truly,

" Henry Grattan."

" *Chevalier Barrington,*

" *Boulogne, près Paris.*"

their constitution was not in any state of present danger, future insecurity must be the necessary consequence of a feeble or corrupt representation.

Over the Lords and over the Crown, the control of the people was insufficient and uncertain. It was just, therefore, that they should have a counterpoise, by a House of Commons of their own free selection; and events have since proved that the suspicions were prophetic.

These, and such like reflections, led the Irish people gradually, according to their capacities, into a train of constitutional deductions; and suggested topics as to the reform and purity of Parliament, which they had never before thought of.

The great body of a people can never be capable of that cool and discriminating course of reasoning, which individuals or limited delegations are capable of exercising: hence they too frequently, in great general assemblies, follow, whether right or wrong, the sentiments of those who reason more plausibly than themselves; or whose elocution grasps at their feelings, and gives them a factitious superiority over ordinary understandings.

It was impossible that the great body of the Irish Volunteers, which had now assumed the guardianship of Ireland, could be capable of methodical, deep, systematic reasoning, or of unerring political deduction from arguments of enthusiastic and heated orators; but a great proportion of them reasoned by that instinctive power which nature confers on shrewd uncultivated capacities, and on none

more than the humble orders of the Irish people: they caught the strong features of their case and their constitution; they knew that they had contributed by their arms and by their energy to the common cause of their country; they felt that they had been victorious; they listened attentively to their officers, who, more learned than the soldier, endeavoured to adapt their explanations to the strong coarse minds which they sought to enlighten; they instructed them as to existing circumstances and to future possibilities; and thus endeavoured to teach those whom they commanded, not only how to act, but why that principle of action was demanded by their country.

At this time, the visionary and impracticable theories of more modern days had no place amongst the objects of the armed societies of Ireland; but the naturally shrewd and intelligent capacities of the Irish people were easily convinced that without some constitutional reform in the mode of electing the Commons House of Parliament, they could have no adequate security for permanent independence. They learned that paroxysms of liberty which give rise to revolutions, do not endure for ever; and that the spirit of Irish freedom, which had effected the liberation of their country, might expire;—that the independence of the constitution, unless protected by a free parliament, never could be secure; that the enemy might attempt to regain her position; and that the battle should then be fought again under multiplied disadvantages.

Such a reform, therefore, as might insure the uninfluenced election and individual independence of the Irish representatives, appeared to be indispensable, not as a theoretical innovation, nor

of a revolutionary complexion, but as a practical recurrence to the first and finest elements of the constitution as it then existed, without any deviation from the principles on which it had been with so much wisdom originally constructed. This species of reformation, and none other, was that which the Irish nation so judiciously sought for; nor were they without high authority and precedent to countenance that requisition. Mr. Pitt, that great, but mischievous and mistaken statesman, at that time professed himself to be a reforming patriot,—but it was profession only; his deep and solid intellect was soon perverted by the pride of his successes, and confidence in his omnipotence. He reigned at an unexampled era; his fertile and aspiring, but arrogant genius, led him into a series of grand and magnificent delusions, generating systems and measures which, while professing to save, sapped the outworks of the British constitution, and accelerated, if not caused, the financial ruin in which he left his country. He, however, lived long enough to rule as a minister by that system of corruption which, as a patriot, he had reprobated; and to extinguish the Irish Parliament, by the loyalty and attachment of which his government had been uniformly supported.

The Irish people coincided with Mr. Pitt as to the necessity of a reform; nor did the leading reformers of Ireland materially differ with him in the details of that reformation: the principle was admitted by both nations; but Mr. Flood was undisguised, and Mr. Pitt was in masquerade.

The course of reasoning which led the armed associations of

Ireland at that period to decide upon the imperative necessity of a reform of Parliament, was of that sober and convincing nature which, without sophism or declamation, proves itself by the force of uncontrovertible premises, and of plain and simple deductions. It could not be denied that the fundamental principle of the British constitution is a perfect relative equipoise and distinctiveness of its three component estates,—the King, the Lords, and the Representatives of the People.

It could not be denied, that any deviation from that equipoise and distinctiveness necessarily altered the political symmetry of the whole, and destroyed that counteracting quality of the three estates, on the preservation of which public liberty entirely depended.

It could not be denied, that the Members of the House of Commons, forming the third estate, should, by the theory of the constitution, be persons freely selected by the people themselves, to guard, above all things, against any coalition of the other estates (the Crown and the Peers), which coalition must endanger the liberties of the people, by extending the prerogatives and powers of the Executive Government beyond the limits the constitution restrains them to.

It could not be denied, that any one individual, arrogating to himself, and actually exercising a power to nominate, and by his own sole will elect and return Representatives to the Commons House of Parliament, sent them into that assembly, not to speak the sentiments of the people, but the sentiments of the individual who

nominated them, and caused an immediate deviation from the fundamental principle of the British constitution; but where Members of the House of Peers so nominated and returned persons to sit and vote as Members in the House of Commons, it was, in fact, the House of Peers voting by proxy in the House of Commons; thereby at once destroying the independence and distinctiveness of the third estate, and enabling the Crown and the Peers, by coalition, to controul the Commons, and establish a despotic throne and an arbitrary aristocracy.

The power, therefore, constitutionally conferred on the King, by his royal prerogative of creating Peers, coupled with the power, unconstitutionally practised by Peers, of creating Commoners, left the people no sufficiently counteracting constitutional protection for their liberties.

It could not be denied, that purchasing the representation of the people in the Commons House of Parliament for money, and selling the exercise of that representation for office, was a constitutional crime of great magnitude; and that when such a practice was publicly countenanced, it of course destroyed the purity of Parliament, the principle of representation, and safeguards of the constitution.

But if these purchases were made by servants of the Executive Government, in trust, for the uses and purposes of its ministers, to enable them to carry measures through the legislature, which their naked strength, official character, or the merits of the measure, might be unable to effect, it was unequivocal that such practices put an end

totally to all security in the constitution, and that the people must owe the enjoyment of their liberties only to the timidity, the forbearance, or the possible wisdom of an official oligarchy.

The Volunteers now examined existing matters of fact in Ireland, as applicable to these premises; and, comparing the one with the other, the conclusion became so plain and obvious to the humblest capacities, that the necessity of reform or modification in the mode of electing members for the Parliament of Ireland, required no further argument.

To ascertain the relative matters of fact, as applicable to these premises, the Volunteers caused to be printed and published, lists of their House of Commons, designating the mode of election of every individual; the individual by whose personal influence each representative was elected; the number of persons who nominally returned the member; and, as far as could be ascertained, the money or valuable consideration paid for such unconstitutional representation. The result of the inquiry left no room to doubt the applicability of those inquiries to a great proportion of the Commons House of Parliament. The Earl of Ely nominated nine members to the House of Commons. The Earl of Shannon nominated seven; and above twenty other Members of the House of Lords nominated and elected Members for the House of Commons. Many individuals openly sold their patronage for money, to the best bidder;—others returned members at the nomination of the Viceroy or his Secretary; and it appeared that the number of representatives elected

freely by the people, upon constitutional principles, did not compose one-fourth of the Irish Commons.

It was therefore obvious, that under that system there could be no permanent security for Irish independence. But when it was further proved, that fully one-third of the members of the House of Commons were as placemen under the immediate controul of the Executive Government, and had no option but to support every measure the Crown proposed, or be deprived of the situations, which, in many instances, formed a principal part of their revenue, it was clear (the principle of self-preservation being stronger and more durable than the impulse of patriotism in a great proportion of the Irish members), that nothing could preserve the country but the annihilation of that system.

An internal reform of Parliament was, on full consideration, deemed quite incompetent to meet the danger. Numerous statutes had been passed to punish, as a public crime, the bribery of an elector; but no law reached the individual who possessed and exercised an influence over electors, and then secretly sold that influence for money or for title.—The elector who corruptly voted, was considered as a criminal; but the man who corruptly sold his influence, was tolerated. On the fullest investigation, therefore, it appeared that in Ireland the third estate was, in a considerable degree, nominated by the second estate; that both the second and third estates were influenced by the first estate; and that the whole symmetry and equipoise of the constitution were theoretic, but had no solid or permanent existence.

Engraved by J.Heath from an original painting by Sommaford in possession of Sir J.Barrington

JOHN PHILLPOT CURRAN.

Master of the Rolls in Ireland.

Published Sept.r 1.st 1809. by G.Robinson, 25 Paternoster Row London.

The Volunteers at length determined to demand a reform of Parliament, and to bring the measure before the existing Commons in a garb which they conceived would render it irresistible; and from that determination arose the formation of a national representative convention of patriotic delegates selected from the armed regiments,—the most extraordinary, animating, but unprecedented assembly ever yet beheld in the midst of a people, at the moment enjoying an ascertained constitution.

Had this assembly been conducted with discriminating caution and unflinching firmness, it might have attained all its objects, and have effected a complete renovation of the British constitution, through the Irish people. England would not long have delayed acting on the successful precedent of Ireland. This extraordinary meeting, however, though its objects were not effectuated, brought forward a great mass of talent and of patriotism, which had theretofore lain dormant.

During the progress of all political reforms and revolutions, men have been frequently found pressing themselves forward into public notice, solely by the strength of their talents and the power of their energies; springing at once from the humblest ranks of obscurity, to the highest class of reputation.

One of these luminaries was about this period seen arising in Ireland, whose celebrity in that country had no competitor.

John Philpot Curran, a person of very humble origin, of vulgar and careless habits, and contemptible exterior, rose at once to give new lustre and spirit to an already highly-enlightened and spirited

profession. He had passed through the University of Dublin unsignalised by any very peculiar honours; and was admitted to the Irish bar, scarcely known, and totally unpatronised. With the higher orders, he had no intercourse; and had contracted manners, and adopted a kind of society, tending rather to disqualify him for advancement: but, whatever disadvantages he suffered from humble birth, or undignified propensities, were soon lost sight of amidst the brilliance of his talent; and a comparison of what he had been, with what he rose to, rendered the attainments of his genius the more justly celebrated. Never did eloquence appear in so many luminous forms, or so many affecting modulations, as in that gifted personage. Every quality which could form a popular orator was in him combined; and it seemed as if nature had stolen some splendid attribute from all former declaimers to deck out and embellish her adopted favourite.—On ordinary occasions, his language was copious, frequently eloquent, yet generally unequal; but, on great ones, the variety of his elocution, its luxuriance, its effect, were quite unrivalled;—solemn,—ludicrous,—dramatic,—argumentative,—humorous,—sublime;—in irony, invincible*,—in pathos, overwhelming,

* No person ever annoyed Doctor Duigenan so much as Mr. Curran.—When Mr. Curran assailed him in the course of professional collision, he frequently foamed at the mouth, and got quite outrageous. After Mr. Curran's celebrated philippic on the Doctor, before the Privy Council, in the case of Alderman James, the Doctor nearly died of passion: Curran, however, had a manner of again reconciling himself to the Doctor, and they never were very inveterate enemies.

—in the alternations of bitter invective and of splendid eulogy, totally unparalleled: wit relieved the monotony of narrative, and classic imagery elevated the rank of forensic declamation. The wise, the weak, the vulgar, the elevated, the ignorant, the learned, heard and were affected;—he had language for them all. He commanded, alternately, the tear or the laugh; and at all times acquired a despotic ascendency over the most varied auditory.

These were the endowments of early Curran; and these were the qualities which, united to an extraordinary professional versatility, enabled him to shoot like a meteor beyond the sphere of all his contemporaries.

In private and convivial society, many of his public qualities accompanied him in their fullest vigour.—His wit was infinite and indefatigable. A dramatic eye anticipated the flights of an unbounded fancy;—but the flashes of his wit never wounded the feelings of his society; except, perhaps, those minds of contracted jealousy, which shrink up from the reluctant consciousness of inferiority *. He

* The most severe retort Mr. Curran ever experienced was from Sir Boyle Roche, the celebrated Member of the Irish Parliament (who, a gentleman, and a good-hearted person, could scarcely speak a sentence without making a blunder). In a debate where Mr. Curran had made a very strong speech against *sinecure* offices, he was very tartly replied to by Sir Hercules Langrish.—Curran, nettled at some observation, started up, and warmly exclaimed, "I would have the baronet to know, that I am the *guardian of my own honour!*"—Sir Boyle instantly rejoined, "then the gentleman has got a very *pretty* "'*sinecure*' *employment* of it, and so has been speaking all night on the *wrong* side of the "question."

was, however, at times very unequal. As in a great metropolis (to use one of his own illustrations), "the palace and the hovel,—splendour and squalidness,—magnificence and misery, are seen grouped and contrasting within the same precincts:" there were occasions when his wit sunk into ribaldry, his sublimity degenerated to grossness, and his eloquence to vulgarity; yet his strength was evident even in his weakness.—Hercules, spinning as a concubine, still was Hercules; and, probably, had Curran been devoid of these singular contrarieties, he might have glided into a brilliant sameness; and, like his great contemporary, Burgh, though a more admired man, he would probably have been a less celebrated personage *.

The innumerable difficulties he had to encounter in early life, were not easy to conquer; but once conquered, they added an impetus to his progress. His ordinary, mean, and trifling person; his culpable negligence of dress, and all those disadvantageous attributes of early indigence, and unelevated propensities, were imperceptible

* Mr. Curran was passionately fond of playing the fiddle, and occasionally sang some very singular Irish songs. He was not a prose writer, and still less a poet. He brought Mr. Godwin with him to Carlow, to hear a speech he made in a case of Mr. J. Burn; after dinner, he pressed Mr. Godwin, *indirectly*, for his opinion of the speech; and, to cheer up the company, repeated a few couplets of his own composition; his impatience to be eulogised, however, was soon terminated, when Mr. Godwin, pressed for the opinion, frigidly replied, "I really think, Curran, your *prose* was the worst thing I ever heard, "except your poetry."—Mr. Godwin was undoubtedly so far right,—that the speech was very inferior to his *usual* orations, and it would have been difficult to class the verse in any rank of poetry.

or forgotten amidst his talents, which seldom failed to gain a decided victory over the prejudices even of those who were predetermined to condemn him.

His political life was unvaried: from the moment he became a Member of the Irish Parliament his temperature never changed. He pursued the same course, founded on the same principles. He had closely connected himself in party and in friendship with Mr. George Ponsonby *; but he more than equalled that gentleman in the sincerity of his politics. From the commencement to the conclusion of his public life, he was the invariable advocate of the Irish people; he never for a moment deserted their interest, or abandoned their defence. He started from obscurity with the love of Ireland in his heart; and while that heart beat, it was his ruling passion.

As a mere lawyer, he was in no estimation; but, as an able advocate, he had no rival; and, in his skill and powers of interro-

* An unfortunate disagreement occurred between these celebrated men, during the vice-royalty of the Duke of Bedford, which never was reconciled, and holds out a most striking *lesson* to mankind: after a long and warm friendship, entire intimacy, and undeviating coincidence on all great and political subjects; after both having proved their steadiness to the principles of each other, at different periods whilst in opposition,—towards the close of their lives, and at the moment they accepted office, they broke off all their former friendship, disclaimed all further intimacy, and publicly denounced each other on a mere point of a *pecuniary* consideration.—It was the subject of much difference of opinion amongst the bar; but Mr. Ponsonby certainly acted a most dignified and liberal part at the conclusion of it; and the popular opinion, finally, ran strongly against Mr. Curran on that transaction.

gation he vastly excelled all his rivals. He never failed to uphold the rights and independence of the Irish bar, on every occasion where its privileges were trenched upon; and the Bench trembled before him when it merited his animadversions. None ever assailed him publicly, who was not overthrown in the contest; and even the haughty arrogance of Fitzgibbon never hazarded an attack, being certain of discomfiture *.

* Mr. Curran and Lord Clare, whilst the latter was Attorney-General, had on one occasion a controversy which could only be terminated by a personal battle. The combatants fired two cases of very long pistols at each other, but certainly with very bad success and very little *éclat;* for they were neither killed, wounded, satisfied, nor reconciled; nor did either of them express the slightest disposition to continue the engagement.

In those times, the "usual mode of deciding points of honour" never was dispensed with:—but in more modern and refined days, not only gentlemen civilians, but even military officers of His Majesty's forces, frequently and placidly refer their "*points of honour*" to be decided by the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who generally punishes one of the disputants in person, and both of them in pocket;—undoubtedly the safest, though certainly the most expensive mode of settling personal differences.

Mr. Curran was not at all pugnaceous or quarrelsome, or what was then termed in Ireland, a gentleman "*fire-eater*,"—yet he had the singular fortune of fighting frequently, and in every case without any disastrous result, or any inevitable necessity. He fought his most bitter *enemy*, Lord Clare, and he fought his most intimate *friend*, Mr. Egan.—His duel with Major Hobart (Lord Buckinghamshire) was a singular one;—a Mr. Gifford (nicknamed in Dublin, the "Dog in Office") grossly offended Mr. Curran, who declared "he would rather '*do without fighting all his life*' than fight such a fellow as Gifford;

Mr. Curran was appointed Master of the Rolls, by an arrangement made by Lord Ponsonby and Mr. Ponsonby (the Lord Chancellor), with Sir Michael Smith, who was induced to make the vacancy, in consideration of a pension of 3000*l.* per annum. Mr. Curran knew that he was unfit for the office, and was disappointed in not obtaining a legal situation more adapted to his description of talents. He however accepted the appointment, and was acknowledged to have filled the Bench with integrity. He was chagrined at his not having obtained a seat in the Imperial Parliament, and at length resigned his office in favour of Sir William M'Mahon, upon a pension of 2700*l.* per annum. He died at his house in Amelia Place, Brompton, on the 14th of October, 1817, after a short illness, aged 67. Two of his sons, and his daughter, Mrs. Taylor, were with him in his last moments.

but as Gifford was a revenue officer, he expected Major Hobart would dismiss him for his impertinence, or fight in his place.

To either alternative the Secretary demurred; Curran insisted, and at length the Major referred the case to his friend, Lord Carhampton, then Commander-in-Chief in Ireland.

Carhampton, a man of singular wit and acuteness, quickly decided the points on clear principles. "A Secretary of State fighting for an exciseman," said he, "would be rather a "bad precedent for His Majesty's diplomatists; but a Major in the King's service is pug- "nacious by profession, and must fight any body that asks him;" the result was a meeting. Curran did his best to hit the Major, the Major curled his upper lip, and asked Curran, with a sneer, "if he wanted any more of it?" Curran shook his head as a negative, and both left the ground, neither better nor worse friends than when they entered it.

The portrait of Curran, here annexed, is a perfect fore-line of him. Being asked if he had not sat for that portrait, "no," said he, "no, it was the portrait that sat for me."

He left, in the Irish Funds, between Ten and Twelve Thousand Pounds, $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., some stock in the American Funds, and his estate, the Priory, which was his only freehold property. His funeral was private, and he was buried in the vault of Paddington Church. I am not the biographer of Mr. Curran. I knew him well, and latterly I pitied him much. He had too much talent to last—every thing is worn out by incessant action. His intellect failed long before his physical powers; and, what is singular, as his features improved, his ideas degenerated. He was never fond of grandeur, and in his latter days he both sought and obtained obscurity. Of the close of his life I have heard much, and credit little.

CHAPTER VII.

State of the Volunteer Army—Prosperity of Ireland—Confidence and Enthusiasm of the People—Dissensions between Mr. Flood and Mr. Grattan, with their Effects upon the Country—Popular Disapprobation of the Parliament—Delegates appointed from the Volunteer Army to reform the Legislature—Alarm of England—The Arrival of the Delegates in Dublin, and their Reception by the People—Procession of the Delegates from the Exchange to the Rotunda—National Music—Peals of Artillery—Enthusiasm of the People—Awful Situation of the Capital—Inaugural Meeting of the National Convention.

THAT unparalleled army, the Irish Volunteers, had now ascended to the zenith of their character and prosperity. It was they, in fact, that liberated their country from a thraldom of seven centuries—solely by their numbers, their attitude, and respectability, they had conquered their independence from a more powerful nation, without disloyalty or bloodshed. The King admitted to his court, and to his levees, in their respective ranks and uniforms, officers and soldiers who disowned his authority, and formed an army unconnected with his Crown, and independent of his Government: they acted without pay, and submitted to discipline without coercion.

The regular forces paid them military honours; the Parliament repeatedly thanked them for supporting a constitution upon which their establishment had undoubtedly encroached. They were adored by the

people, dreaded by the Minister, honoured by the King, and celebrated throughout Europe. They had raised their country from slavery, and they supported their Monarch against his enemies. They were loyal—but determined to be free; and if their Parliament had been honest, Ireland would have kept her rank, and the nation preserved its tranquillity. The rise and progress of that institution have been already traced; its decline and fall must now be recorded.

At this period, Ireland appeared to have nothing to desire but capital and industry. She was free, she was independent, populous, powerful, patriotic, and she was loyal; her debt did not exceed her means of payment; but of trading capital she had none, and her industry was cramped by the narrowness of her resources. All the materials and elements of industry were within her own realm, and the freedom of trade she had acquired, now promised a stimulus to her commerce which she had never before experienced. The people were united; Catholic and Protestant were on the most cordial terms; the voice of patriotism had exorcised the spirit of discord—the Catholic for the moment forgot his chains, and the Protestant no longer recollected his ascendancy—peace, order, and security, extended over the whole Island; no army was required, to defend the coasts—no police was wanted, to preserve tranquillity—neither foreign nor domestic enemies could succeed against a prospering and united people.

Had the ardent nature of Ireland been then tempered by calm and persevering judgment—had ordinary foresight controlled or guided her zeal—and had rational scepticism moderated her enthusiasm, one short

session of her own Parliament might have intrenched her independence, and established her constitution, beyond the power or the influence of all her enemies.

Untoward fate, however, had decreed that unfortunate and ever mal-governed Island to fall into the error by which individuals so often meet their ruin. Having obtained successes beyond their expectation, a mist obscures their vision; they know not where to stop, they rush blindly to the dangers that surround them, and lose by indiscretion what they had achieved by fortitude.

They are precipitated beyond the ground on which they should have secured their acquirement. But the sensitive, credulous, and enthusiastic Irish, as at all former periods, through the jealousies and recriminations of their sects and factions, raised the drawbridge of their fortress for the admission of their enemies, and, amidst the dissensions of the ablest and most honest of their warders*, those who sought their overthrow again penetrated into her citadel, and steadily pursued the object of recapture.

The unfortunate difference of sentiments between Mr. Flood and Mr. Grattan, by enfeebling the authority of both, had diminished the security of the nation. Mr. Flood's diffidence of government was most congenial to the prospective interests of a people long enslaved. The

* The jealousies, the adverse feelings, and discordant proceedings of Mr. Flood and Mr. Grattan, and their partizans, prevented the adoption of measures which might have secured the country against any attempt at union or annexation.—See the Speech of Lord Castlereagh, on 15th January, 1800.

energy of patriots had achieved, but it required the wisdom of statesmen to secure, their newly-acquired constitution. Both, however, united in opinion as to the necessity of a free and independent Parliament to protect that constitution; but no unanimity existed between them, or throughout the country, as to the details of that measure.

By this unfortunate collision, the old courtiers obtained breathing time, and the Minister acquired hope. The hundred eyes of the British Argus were keen to discover the failings and frailties of the Irish patriots; nor did they watch long in vain, for a measure, which forms one of the most remarkable incidents of Irish History, soon gave the English Government an opportunity of resuming its operations against that devoted country.

The line of reasoning already described, as to the state of the Parliament, and the necessity for its reform, made a deep and general impression, and was indefatigably circulated throughout the whole nation. Some partial desertions from what was conceived to be the patriotic party *, gave rise to a general suspicion of the whole Parliament. Discontent quickly sprang up amongst the people, and their meetings increased. At length delegates from several volunteer regi-

* Mr. Yelverton, the great champion of liberty, had been made Chief Baron, and silenced; Mr. Bradstreet became a Judge, and mute; Mr. Dennis Daly had accepted the office of Paymaster, and had renegaded. Several minor patriots had been detached or neutralized: Mr. Dawson accepted a Fencible Regiment, and Mr. Dobbs, that extraordinary man before mentioned, received his Majority. The Volunteers became irritated and impatient, and some decisive steps appeared imperatively necessary to arrest desertion and check the progress of corruption.

Drawn by Maguire, Dublin, from an original Painting by Hamilton, in the possession of the Countess of Aldborough — Engraved by James Heath.

RICHARD DAWSON ESQR. M.P.

Published March 1, 1812, by G. Robinson, Paternoster Row London.

ments again assembled at Duncannon, to consider the expediency and means of an immediate reform of Parliament. Hence originated one of the most extraordinary scenes in the annals of any country.

Mr. Flood was now considered the most zealous and able leader of the Irish patriots. Those who had supported his opinions, still pertinaciously contended, that the measures already conceded were not, in themselves, guarantees for the constitution which had been acquired, or in any respect sufficient for the preservation of independence. Some argued, that confidence in the existing state of her Parliament, would lull the nation into a fatal slumber, from which she might be awakened only by a new assault upon her freedom. Some went so far as to assert, that no arrangement, without an explicit, formal, and unequivocal recantation by England, of her original usurpations, ought to have been accepted by the Irish Parliament. They argued that such an avowal would certainly have been obtained, if the Parliament had not been corrupted or deceived. They contended, that if England should refuse such a declaration, this, in itself, would be positive proof of her general insincerity; and that if she were as magnanimous as she affected to be, she would be proud to prove her magnanimity to the world, and that she would become still more magnanimous by so noble an example of moderation and of justice. But if she haughtily persisted in retaining the theory of her usurpation, after the practice of it had been relinquished, it was evident she would watch the first favourable moment to impose still stronger chains than those she had removed.

This strong language had already been freely used to rouse the friends of Ireland to a conviction of the corruption, and the versatility of which her Representatives had given such practical proofs. It was most assiduously disseminated, and not without foundation, that the Irish Parliament, in its recent proceedings, had clearly evinced more talent than prudence, and less honesty than declamation ; that whilst patriots were debating in the House, the Secretary was negociating in the corridor, and therefore it was necessary to the public safety to strangle corruption in its cradle, and give the people a due confidence in the integrity of their Representatives.

It was considered, by many men of influence and fortune, that a reform of the Commons House of Parliament was attainable, and should be then attained. The national arrangements daily appeared more imperfect, for they had not been conducted with the sound principles of cautious statesmen, nor had satisfactory guarantees been established for their future security. As Parliament was then returned, no well-founded confidence could be placed in its permanent protection ; and it was most judiciously stated by Mr. Flood, that the speech of a puzzled Minister, put into the mouth of an embarrassed Monarch, was at that moment the only security for the continuance of Ireland as an independent nation ;—that such independence might rest solely upon a single word of two syllables*, on which every future Minister might found fallacious reasoning, and place his own equivocal construction. This was, in truth, prophetic.

* The word Fina.—*Vide* page 110.

It was also more than insinuated, by men of clear and dispassionate judgment, that the struggles in Parliament were becoming rather for the supremacy of men and party, than for the preservation of the Constitution; that they were blind, rancorous, and ill-timed individual contests, dangerous to the State, and irritating to the people. They argued, that the piercing eye of the British Minister would not fail to watch for the moment when, the Irish being enfeebled by their dissensions, he might destroy that independence which the architects of 1782 had attempted to establish, without considering the insecurity of the foundation. So far these arguments were true, but men stopped not here. It was suggested that a requisition to the Parliament, to reform itself, urged by the people, in only their civil capacities, might not have sufficient weight to command attention. If, however, 300 delegates were chosen by volunteer regiments, from men of fortune, influence, and character, it would prove to the Parliament that a reform was required by those who could enforce it. They might send their Bill to Parliament through the hands of their own members, and such a presentation could create no cavil; and, above all, the very same men who would deliberate as volunteer delegates, and prepare such a bill, would be, in a great measure, those who, in their civil capacities, composed the several grand juries of the nation, many of them being members of the Legislature. The measure was almost unanimously determined upon. Three hundred delegates were chosen by different corps, and the 10th of November (1783) was proclaimed for the first sitting of the Grand National Convention of Ireland, within the precincts

of the two Houses of Parliament, the members of which were at the same period exercising their legislative functions. Never was any country placed in a more extraordinary or critical situation.

This state of affairs in Ireland, naturally leads to some consideration of the sensations which were then felt by the English Cabinet—It became alarmed—Ireland now stood in a high station—her concerns at length mingled with those of foreign countries—No longer (in the language of Mr. Gibbon) a remote and obscure Island, she formed a new feature on the face of Europe, and might now justly assume her rank amongst the second order of European nations. In constitution and in laws, municipal and international, she was fundamentally the same as England, but her Legislature was, in theory, altogether independent. The individuality of their joint Monarch constituted the indefeasible basis of their federative connexion, but their respective Parliaments alone, could make laws to bind their respective people, to regulate their own commerce, and to pay their own armies. Ireland had wisely and magnanimously recorded her loyalty, and proclaimed her determination, that "*whilst* she shared the *liberty*, she would share the "fate of the British nation;"—but the compact was reciprocal, and she had bound herself no further.

This was the language of an ardent, sensitive, credulous, and grateful people. But the British Government reasonably dreaded that a Parliament reformed, or rather modelled, by the Volunteers, might be found less adhesive; and England could not with apathy regard a military Convention, meeting and operating on political subjects, in the centre of the Irish Metropolis.

The attention of England was now also roused to a more detailed review of the statistical circumstances of Ireland. By the acquisition of a free commerce, and of unshackled manufactures, the revenue and resources of Ireland became susceptible of extraordinary improvement, and might soon have equalled those of many continental nations—and they were solely at her own disposal and appropriation.

In the capability of military power she had few rivals; at that period she contained (and continues to contain) more fighting men, or men who love fighting, and who might be collected in a week, than any other state in Europe*. The powerful and elevated position she was then about to occupy, and the steps by which she had mounted to that eminence, could not be regarded without some feelings of solicitude by the sister country.

The example of Ireland had afforded a grave and instructive lesson to all oppressed and vassal people, and a wholesome lecture to griping and monopolizing Governments. Of all the extraordinary circumstances which the state of Ireland then displayed, none was beheld, at that critical period, with such mingled wonder and alarm by England, as the rapid progress of the volunteer associations. The

* That brutal and barbarous custom in England, designated by the term pugilism, or the fancy (the true school for robbers, assassins, and villains of every description), never got footing in Ireland; the Irish *like* what they call, real fighting, better than the English; the proportion of their murders are pretty equal, but in all other crimes England has a vast, numerical, and atrocious majority. At that period, nine-tenths of the whole population would rather fight than let it alone—but they had no antagonists.

increasing numbers, discipline, and energy of that military institution, had no precedent, nor, in the changed state of Europe, can the phenomenon ever appear in any country.

The Volunteers, now actually armed and disciplined, were said to exceed 150,000 men. This number might have been exaggerated, but whatever the effective force then was, the volunteer recruits, if called on, would have been nearly the entire efficient population of the island, including every rank, religion, and occupation.

Such a force, though self-levied, self-officered, and utterly independent of any control or subjection, save to their chiefs, still remained in perfect harmony amongst themselves, in entire obedience to the municipal laws of the country, holding the most friendly and intimate intercourse with the regular forces, and, by their activity and local knowledge, preserving their country in a state of general and unprecedented tranquillity.

This extraordinary military body having obtained the constitution for which they had armed, had now no object but that of effectually securing its permanence, and of establishing that independence which had become the theory of their adoration. Equally ready to shed their blood in opposing a foreign enemy, in supporting their own liberties, or, if called upon, in defending England—that body, therefore, combining the moral and physical powers, and nearly the entire wealth, of an immense population—a great army already disciplined, and panting for warlike instruction—nothing could have resisted; and whatever ground of alarm the British Government might then have felt, had Ministers

been mad enough, at that period, to have attempted its direct or compulsory suppression, the result would inevitably have been a prompt and total separation of the two islands.

Ireland was in this state at the meeting of the Grand Convention, and the Parliament assembled about the same time. The volunteer elections were quickly ended without tumult or opposition; and the delegates, escorted by small detachments of volunteers from their respective counties, entered the metropolis, and were universally received with a respect and cordiality impossible to be depicted:—yet, all was harmony and peace. Many men of large fortune, many of great talent, and many members of the Lords and Commons, had been elected delegates *by the Volunteers*, and took upon themselves the double, though certainly not consistent, functions of Parliament and of the Convention.

The Royal Exchange of Dublin was first selected for the meeting of the volunteer delegates. Whoever has seen the metropolis of Ireland, must admire the external architecture of that building; but, as it was constructed solely for mercantile purposes, it would have been inadequate to the accommodation of a very large deliberative assembly. It was therefore determined that the Rotunda (being the finest room in Ireland) was best adapted for the meeting of the National Convention. This was, and continues to be, the great assembly-room of Dublin, and it consists of a circular salon of very large dimensions, connected with numerous and very spacious chambers, and terminates Sackville Street, the finest of the Irish metropolis. It is surmounted by a dome,

exceeding in diameter the Irish House of Commons, and was perfectly adapted to the accommodation of a popular assembly.

This salon, and the connected chambers, had been fitted up for the important purpose to which they were to be appropriated. But little did the Irish people conceive, that what they then considered as the proudest day the nation had ever seen, only preceded by a little time her final dissolution, and even prepared the grave in which her new-gained independence was to be inhumated. Every measure, however, had been previously taken to prepare that splendid chamber for this unparalleled assembly, and to receive the delegates and their escorts with every possible mark of respect and dignity. Some companies of volunteer grenadiers were ordered to attend on the Convention as a guard of honour during their sittings, and also to mount an officer's guard at the house of the President, whilst volunteer cavalry patrolled during the sittings in all the adjoining streets, and preserved the utmost tranquillity throughout the entire city. The detachments of country corps, having a great emulation as to their appearance on this grand occasion, had new dresses and accoutrements, and it was agreeable to see the noble hunters on which some of the cavalry were mounted. The horse had entered Dublin in very small detachments, from exceedingly numerous corps, and, when occasionally formed into line, the great variety of their dresses, ensigns, and equipments, presented a splendid, but very striking and singular appearance *.

* The author had been sent to town with a very small detachment of his father's cavalry corps, the " Cullenagh Rangers;" their undress was white, with black velvet

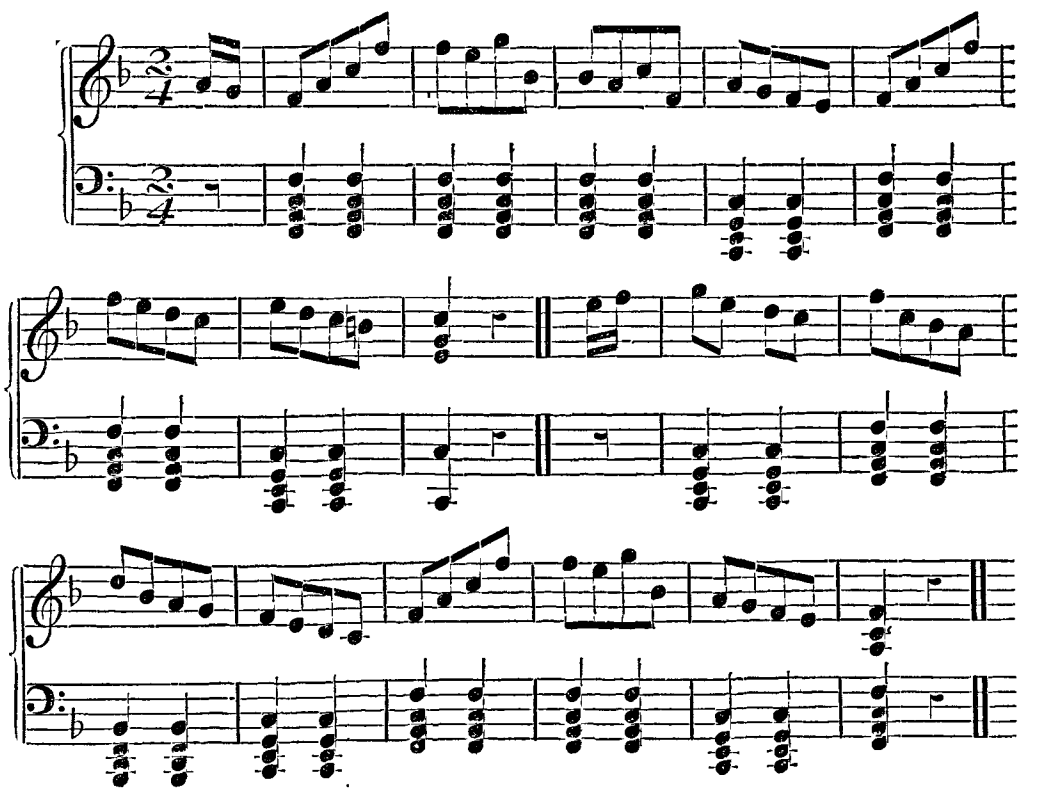
The citizens of Dublin excelled in their hospitality; they appeared in crowds every where, forcing their invitations on the country volunteers; every soldier had numerous billets pressed into his hand; every householder, who could afford it, vied in entertaining his guests with zeal and cordiality. Every thing was secure and tranquil; but when it was considered that 300 members had virtually proclaimed a concurrent Parliament, under the title of a National Convention, and were about to lead a splendid procession through the body of the city, to hold its sittings within view of the Houses of Legislature, the affairs of Ireland seemed drawing fast to some decisive catastrophe. But it was also considered, that the Convention was not an assembly of declaimers or of demagogues, but of men of rank, of fortune, and of talent, whilst, to avoid cavil, every delegate was of the Established Church. The Convention, therefore, possessed an importance and a consistence that seemed to render some momentous consequence absolutely inevitable: the crisis did arrive, but it was an unfortunate event; Ireland retrograded, and has irrecoverably fallen.

The firing of cannon announced the first movement of the delegates from the Royal Exchange to the Rotunda; a troop of cavalry, commanded by Colonel Edwards, commenced the procession; the

facings, much handsomer than the full-dress, scarlet. At the head of these few men, the author was more proud than an Emperor; it made an impression on his youthful mind, which, even in age, is vivid and animating;—a glowing patriotism, a military feeling, and an instinctive, though a senseless lust for actual service, arose within him—a sensation which is certainly inherent in a great proportion of the Irish people.

Liberty Brigade of artillery*, commanded by Napper Tandy, with a band, succeeded. A company of the Barrister's grenadiers, headed by Colonel Pedder, with a national standard for Ireland, borne by

* Some of the musicians of Dublin, in 1780, had been employed to compose a march for the general adoption of the volunteer corps throughout the kingdom, that all might be accustomed to march to the same air at their reviews, &c. They composed the following march, now forgotten, but still interesting, as connected with a recollection of the times, and of that unparalleled Institution.



It appears (as a composition) to claim *no merit* whatever, being neither *grand*, nor *martial*, nor *animating;* but it was *universally* adopted by the Volunteers, and was played at all public places, theatres, and in the streets, &c., by every sort of performer, and on

a captain of grenadiers, and surrounded by the finest men they could select, came after, their muskets slung, and bright battle-axes borne on their shoulders. A battalion of infantry with a band

all instruments: at public dinners and meetings it invariably accompanied "*God save the King*," and "*St. Patrick's Day in the Morning*."

It is very remarkable that the Volunteers adopted, as their quick step, an Air composed at the Revolution, called "*The Protestant Boys*;" or, "*Lillabalera*;" and I have frequently seen the Catholics marching with great glee to that most Protestant of all musical compositions, such an unqualified ascendancy had the spirit of national liberty assumed over all feelings of religion, or jealousy of intolerance.

It is curious to observe the totally different species of music then adopted by the Irish volunteers, and some time after by the revolutionists on the Continent, with the singular inferiority of the former. Though composed to excite enthusiasm in both instances, who can hear the "*Marseillais Hymn*," "*Ça Ira*," and the other revolutionary music of France, and consider the frantic enthusiasm which they excited, without thinking that the sober stupid tones of the Volunteers' march were more calculated for a soporific than a stimulant. It strongly designates the different characters and objects of those people at the most critical periods, and the almost ridiculous inferiority of the Irish composers of late periods.

It is also singular that the Airs adopted by the *Royalists* in *all* countries, during civil wars, have been of the dullest nature.

In Ireland, "*Croppies Lie Down*"—"*King William over the Water, &c.;*" in America, "*Yankee Doodle*;"—in France, "*Henry the Fourth*;" in Scotland, both Royalists and Rebels had scarcely an *intelligible* note on their bagpipes—"*Jenny Cameron*" and the "*White Cockade*" were the liveliest—they vexed the moss troopers sorely, and excited a strong, fierce feeling amongst the Highlanders; as to *patriotism*, they knew nothing about it; but the bellowing monotony of their military chanters was loud and harsh, and congenial to the wild clans of that country. In England, certainly the "*Roast Beef of Old*

followed, and then the delegates, two and two, with side-arms, and in their respective uniforms — broad green ribands were worn across their shoulders. A band was in the centre playing the special national air alluded to. The Protestant chaplains of the different regiments, in their cassocs, marched each with his respective corps, giving solemnity to the procession, and as if invoking the blessing of Heaven on their efforts, which had a wonderful effect on the surrounding multitude. Several standards and colours were borne by the different corps of horse and foot, and another brigade of artillery, commanded by Counsellor Calbeck, with labels on the cannons' mouths*, was escorted by the Barrister's corps in scarlet and gold (the full dress uniform of the King's Guards), the motto on their buttons being "*Vox populi suprema lex est.*" The procession in itself was interesting in the extreme, but the surrounding scene was still more affecting. Their line of march, from the Exchange to the Rotunda, was through the most spacious streets and quays of the city, open on both sides to the river, and capable of containing a vastly larger assemblage of people than any part of the metropolis of England. An immense body of spectators, crowding every window and house-top, would be but an ordinary occurrence, and might be seen and described without novelty or interest; but, on this occasion,

England" has a very substantial and peaceable sort of tone, and, in its music, very well expresses the operation it is intended to precede. Hogarth has rendered that air immortal.

* The motto was:—"Oh Lord, open thou our lips, and our mouths shall show forth thy praise!"

every countenance spoke zeal, every eye expressed solicitude, every action proclaimed triumph: green ribands and handkerchiefs were waved from every window by the enthusiasm of its fair occupants; the crowds seemed to move on the house-tops; ribands were flung upon the delegates as they passed; yet it was not a loud or boisterous, but a firm and awful enthusiasm. It was not the effervescence of a heated crowd—it was not the fiery ebullition of a glowing people—it was not sedition—it was liberty that inspired them: the heart bounded, though the tongue was motionless—those who did not see, or who do not recollect that splendid day, must have the mortification of reflecting, that (under all its circumstances) no man did before, and no man ever will "behold its like again."

The entrance of the delegates into the Rotunda was most interesting and awful. Each doffed his helmet or his hat, as if he felt the influence of that sacred place where he was about to sacrifice at the Shrine of Freedom. Every man knew he was, in some respect, overstepping the boundaries of the Constitution, but he considered that his trespass was but temporary, and for the purpose only of adding security to that Constitution which he seemed to transgress.

There certainly was no written law against such a meeting. The Volunteers, whom the delegates represented, though new to the Constitution, had been repeatedly acknowledged, and thanked by Parliament; yet there was no sound plea for their assembling as a deliberative body, save the purity of their motive, and the great property and respectability of the delegates. However, it could not

be denied, by the most zealous reformers, that the existing Legislature never could constitutionally be dictated to by any contemporary assembly; nor could it be pretended that 300 delegates from 150,000 soldiers in arms, assembled for the avowed purpose of recommending measures for the adoption of Parliament, was constitutional. Though they by no means affected to be dictators, they appeared very determined advisers of the Legislature. This might have been, in the first instance, rationally objected to as a deviation from the practice of that Constitution which they professed to uphold; but such an argument was not used against its original formation, nor against its assembling, and the Irish Government proved that they well knew the delicacy of their situation.

Such a state of things never could have existed in any other country, consistently with perfect tranquillity. Ireland, however, proved on that occasion her superior loyalty, and gave the retort courteous to her calumniators. It was a matter of fact that the Irish Revolution was over—that her independence had been achieved—that it had been proclaimed in Ireland and in England—that it had been ratified by His Majesty from his Throne, as Monarch of both Countries. That Union was, therefore, considered as firm, because it was federal, and the delegates sought what their own Parliament alone was competent to discuss, and over which England had no control. A partial reform of the representation was a measure which the British Minister himself had the duplicity of proposing in England, and of undermining in the sister country.

These would, at any other time, have been subjects for very grave consideration, but it was too late to reflect, the die was thrown, and, as if every thing conspired to increase the peculiarity of the scene, even the site of the Rotunda, where the Convention assembled, exactly terminated the street and fronted the river, on the other side of which, in a direct line, was seen the magnificent dome of the Commons House of Parliament, where 300 members, returned as representatives of the Irish people, according to the practice of the Constitution, were also deliberating.

Those localities excited, in every rational mind, something like a dread of possible collision ; it was also a grave and curious consideration, that the avowed object of the Volunteer delegation was, in fact, to degrade the character of the Parliamentary delegates, and, under the name of reform, convict them of corruption.

It was impossible not to perceive, that both were placed in a situation, which must necessarily terminate in the humiliation of one of them.

It was also remarkable that the Volunteers, who had thus sent their delegates to reform the Commons House of Parliament, had been themselves solemnly thanked the preceding Session, for their support of the Constitution, by the very same House of Commons which they now determined to re-organize and reform.

These occurrences reduced the metropolis to a situation quite unprecedented; but the reflecting men on that day were but few, the credulous were many, and the heated were numerous. The

women were then, at least, as great patriots as the men*, and they infused and sustained a military enthusiasm that tended to any thing but a tranquil termination.

It is impossible not to contrast this national convention of Ireland with the democratic assemblies, which, in later days, overwhelmed so many thrones and countries. With what pride must an Irishman call to his recollection the concentration of rank and fortune, and patriotism and loyalty, which composed that convention of the Irish people! With what pride must the few survivors remember the 300 Irish nobles and gentlemen assembling peaceably and loyally to demand a reform—an object of all others the nearest to their hearts, and the most necessary to their independence!

Yet the recollection of that assembly must also cast a dark shade over the History of Ireland, by transferring a reflection on its proud birth to its humble termination.

A delineation of those scenes may appear, to modern readers, an exaggerated episode. That generation which beheld, or acted in those days, is drawing fast to a close; and whilst a few contemporaries exist, it would be unpardonable to leave the scenes altogether to future historians, who could convey but an imperfect recital of actions they had never seen, and frigid ideas of feelings they had never experienced. The results of that extraordinary measure may enable posterity

* The wives of the officers of the Volunteer regiments (particularly of the colonels), wore riding habits, the uniform of their husbands' corps, and frequently white silk belts, with small bayonets, or daggers.

to do some justice to caluminiated Ireland, where loyalty appears to have wonderfully retained its influence over a powerful, proud, and patriotic assembly, and over an armed and irresistible population, under circumstances the most dangerous and irritating that had ever terminated with tranquillity in any nation.

The Artillery had scarcely announced the entry of the delegates into the Rotunda, when that silent respect which had pervaded the entire population, during the procession, yielded to more lively feelings;—no longer could the people restrain their joy. At first, a low murmur seemed to proceed from different quarters, which, soon increasing in its fervour, at length burst into a universal cheer of triumph, like distant thunder, gradually rolling on, till one great and continued peal bursts upon the senses;—the loud and incessant cheering of the people soon reverberated from street to street, contributing the whole powers of acclamation to glorify an assembly which they vainly conceived must be omnipotent—it was an acclamation, long, sincere, and unanimous, and occasionally died away, only to be renewed with redoubled energy. The vivid interest excited by this extraordinary and affecting scene can never be conceived, save by those who were present, and participated in its feelings—nor can time or age obliterate it from the memory.

It is not unworthy of remark, that a wonderful proportion of female voices was distinguishable amidst these plaudits. A general illumination took place throughout the city, bands of music were heard every where, and never did a day and night of rejoicing so

truly express the unsophisticated gratification of an entire population. The Government was astounded, the Privy Council had sat, but were far from unanimous, and had separated without decision; the old courtiers called the scene frantic—but it was not the frenzy of a mob, it was the triumph of a nation, incomprehensible to the vulgar meetings of another country.

The scene within was still more novel and impressive. The varied uniforms of the delegates had a very singular appearance; sent from different regiments, no two of them were dressed or armed alike; cavalry, infantry, grenadiers, artillery, generals, colonels, serjeants, privates, in fine, all possible varieties of military dress and rank were collected in one general body, destined to act solely in a civil capacity.

The cheers, the cannon, the music, the musketry, combined to prevent any procedure that day, save that of the Members giving in their delegations, and nominating some officers to act during the Session.

CHAPTER VIII.

Splendid Procession of the Bishop of Derry—His Character and decided Conduct—Alarm and sinister Policy of the English Government—Necessity of a Parliamentary Reform in Ireland—Character of Lord Charlemont—His Presidency of the Convention—Is opposed by the Bishop of Derry and Mr. Flood—Bill of Reform digested by the Convention, and brought into Parliament by Mr. Flood—Violent Debate—Conduct of Mr. Yelverton, Mr. Fitzgibbon, and Mr. Conolly—Rejection of the Bill—Its Effect upon the Convention and upon the Volunteers—Lord Charlemont determines to dissolve the Convention—His Bill of Reform and Stratagem—The Convention dissolved—Disgrace of Lord Charlemont—Popularity of the Bishop of Derry—His celebrated Reply to "The Bill of Rights' Battalion"—Mr. Fitzgibbon's Proposal to Arrest the Bishop—Distraction of the Council—Conflict of Opinions upon violent or moderate Measures—Mr. Flood's Second Reform Bill—Decadence of the Volunteers—Wisdom of moderate Measures—Tranquillity of Ireland.

Previous to the meeting of the delegates, the Bishop of Derry had determined to convince the Irish people, that he was no lukewarm professor of adherence to their interest; his character, already given*, is confirmed by every act of his life when in Ireland. He took his seat amongst the Irish delegates, at the Rotunda, with the greatest splendor; and, to prove that he preferred the claims of the Irish Volunteers to both his English rank as Earl of Bristol and his Irish rank as a spiritual noble,

* Vol. I. chap. vi.

he entered Dublin in royal state, drew up his equipage at the entrance to the House of Lords, as if he halted to teach the Peers their duty to their country, and then moved forward to take his seat at the Rotunda, as an Irish Delegate in the National Convention. Such a circumstance can be scarcely credited in England; but had not Lord Charlemont's temporising neutralized his spirit, it is probable that the Convention might have succeeded in its object. It is not, therefore, wonderful, that a British Peer, an Englishman, and above all, a Bishop, taking so decided a part in the cause of Ireland, should gain a popularity that few before him ever had so fully, or perhaps, more justly, experienced. He certainly was sincere;—his proceedings on this occasion were extraordinary, and not unworthy of a special notice.

The Lords had taken their seats in the House of Peers, when the Bishop of Derry began his procession to take his seat in the Convention. He had several carriages in his suite, and sat in an open landau, drawn by six beautiful horses, caparisoned with purple ribands. He was dressed in purple, his horses, equipages, and servants being in the most splendid trappings, and liveries. He had brought to Dublin, as his escort, a troop of light cavalry, raised by his unfortunate and guilty nephew, George Robert Fitzgerald*; they were splendidly dressed and accoutred, and were mounted on the finest chargers that the Bishop or their Commander could procure. A part of these dragoons led the procession, another closed it, and some rode on each

* *See ante.* Vol. I. chap. vi., page 240.

side of his Lordship's carriage. Trumpets announced his approach, and detachments from several volunteer corps of Dublin joined his Lordship's cavalcade. He never ceased making dignified obeisances to the multitude: his salutations were enthusiastically returned on every side—"Long live the Bishop," echoed from every window; yet all was peace and harmony, and never did there appear so extraordinary a procession within the realm of Ireland.

This cavalcade marched slowly through the different streets, till it arrived at the portico of the House of Lords, which adjoined that of the Commons. A short halt was then made, the trumpets sounded, the sudden and unexpected clangor of which echoed throughout the long corridors. Both Houses had just finished prayers, and were proceeding to business, and, totally unconscious of the cause, several members rushed to the entrance. The Bishop saluted all with royal dignity, the Volunteers presented arms, and the bands played the Volunteers' march. Of a sudden another clangor of trumpets was heard; the astonished Lords and Commons, unable to divine what was to ensue, or the reason of the extraordinary appearance of the Bishop, retired to their respective chambers, and with great solicitude awaited the result.

The Bishop, however, had done what he intended; he had astonished both Houses, and had proved to them his principles and his determination—amidst the shouts and cheers of thousands, he proceeded to the Rotunda, where, in point of dignity and importance, he certainly appeared to surpass the whole of his brother delegates.

He entered the chamber in the greatest form, presented his credentials, took his seat, conversed a few moments with all the ceremony of a temporal prince, and then, with the excess of that dignified courtesy of which he was a perfect master, he retired as he had entered, and drove away in the same majestic style, and amidst reiterated applauses, to his house, where the Volunteers had previously mounted a guard of honour. He entertained a great number of persons of rank at a magnificent dinner, and the ensuing day began his course amongst the Delegates, as an ordinary man of business*.

The Bishop, in devoting himself to the service of the Irish people,

* The personal appearance of the Bishop was extremely prepossessing—rather under the middle size, he was peculiarly well made—his countenance fair, handsome, and intelligent, but rather expressive of a rapidity of thought than of the deliberation of judgment—his hair, receding from his forehead, gave a peculiar trait of respectability to his appearance.

His manner appeared zealous and earnest, and rather more quick than is consistent with perfect dignity; but he seemed to be particularly well bred and courteous; and, altogether, he could not be viewed without an impression, that he was a person of talent and of eminence.

He appeared always dressed with peculiar care and neatness; in general, entirely in purple, and he wore diamond knee and shoe buckles. But what I most observed in his dress was, that he wore white gloves, with gold fringe round the wrists, and large gold tassels hanging from them.

I was then too young, and too unimportant, to have the honour of any personal acquaintance with that distinguished prelate; but the singularity of his habits, his patriotic conduct, popular character, and impressive appearance, excited in me a satisfaction in beholding him, and impressed him strongly on my recollection.

could have no personal object but popularity. He could be no greater in title; he was rich, and in health, vigour, and spirits; his learning was rare, his talents very considerable—in all respects he was an able man. From the moment he became an Irish Bishop he adopted Ireland, built an immense palace in a remote and singular situation, and did numerous acts which nobody could account for. He had many of those qualities, in an eminent degree, which our more ancient histories have attributed to the proudest churchmen; but they were in him so blended with liberality, so tempered by enlightened principles, that they excited a very different mode of conduct from his episcopal predecessors. However, his ambition for popularity obviously knew no bounds, and his efforts to gain that popularity found no limits. His great failing was a portion of natural versatility, which frequently enfeebled the confidence of his adherents. It was supposed that the gentle, lambent flame of Charlemont, would soon be quenched in the rolling, rapid torrent of the Bishop's popularity, and that the epigrammatic eloquence of Grattan, cramped or overpowered by the influence of his splendor, would probably be withdrawn from the scene of action. The Bishop soon adopted his course; he payed his whole attention to Mr. Flood. In this he was right. It is not too much to say, that Mr. Flood was, at least, the best educated and deepest statesman, and the most able partizan, in the Irish Senate.

Whilst these extraordinary and brilliant scenes were proceeding in Ireland, the embarrassment of the British Ministers must necessarily

have been excessive. They well knew, that if the Convention succeeded in reforming the Commons House of Parliament, the British Government would lose the use of the only instrument through which they ever could hope to regain their ascendancy; and with this view, and at this critical period, the plot was suggested and the conspiracy formed, to replace Ireland within the trammels of the sister country, whenever a feasible opportunity should offer. The sequence of Irish events leaves no doubt of the truth of this observation.

These occurrences were, to England, a golden opportunity: plans against the Volunteer Associations were deeply laid, and with considerable prospect of eventually succeeding, by first working upon the moderation and courteous feeblenesss of the short-sighted Charlemont, to dismiss the Convention, and thereby divide and dispirit the Volunteers. The next plan was, by corrupting Parliament and seducing the Irish gentlemen, under pretence of upholding the British Constitution, to recapture the Irish independence. Whoever read the political history of these realms from 1782 to 1800, cannot doubt that this object, from that period to the completion of the Union, was never lost sight of.

The British Minister had also reasons nearer home for determining to undermine the reforming spirit of the Irish Volunteers. He knew that if a Reform of Parliament were effected in Ireland, though the same reasons did not exist, yet the same measure could not be long withheld from the English nation; and as the Parliament of England

was at that era supposed to be ruled absolutely by the influence of the Crown *, the control of the Minister would receive a vital blow, which it never could recover.

The commercial system of England also, whilst without external rivalship, had no necessity for a special protection. But now she had a rival in the free trade of Ireland, a subject which soon after came under full discussion. The jealousy of England was proved by her commercial propositions, and the Irish Parliament had yet sufficient honesty to resist that inroad.

But as a body that had laboured long and much, a lassitude and relaxation were obviously commencing in the Irish Senate—how long that spirit, which had acquired their rights, might retain its vigour to protect them, depended on the purity of the representatives—and this was the true reason for considering a reform imperative in Ireland.

Whilst, therefore, the subject of Reform is under discussion, it may be proper to see how far the then existing state of Ireland substantially required that measure, or warranted that conclusion. She was to commence as a trading country, and her situation on the map of the world seemed to combine many defects and many advantages. She appears partially secluded from that general intercourse which.

* It is remarkable that Mr. Dunning's Motion, that " the *influence of the Crown has* " *increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished,*" was carried against Government, by the very *same* House of which a Resolution declared, that its influence was *paramount.*

In Ireland, this would have been termed a blunder.

other States of Europe enjoy from their localities. England, on the east, intervenes between her and the British Channel and German Ocean; Scotland intercepts the Northern Seas; and though the most western point of Europe, and of course well situated for the western commerce, the enterprise and great capital, or jealousy, of England, could have excluded her at pleasure, if unprotected by her own Parliament, from any proportional participation in the colonial trade *. On a view of the whole, her position might have entitled her to have become a considerable emporium, but jealousy is natural to commercial nations, and Ireland would probably have possessed the same lust for monopoly, had she been circumstanced as Great Britain. But the non-importation resolutions of Ireland † had alarmed Great Britain, and proved to her to what a zeal of retaliation the Irish people might be urged by any future measures of injustice.

The situation of Ireland places her comparatively out of the pale of busy Europe, by the absence of that political interest which the

* It could not be very gratifying to the Irish traders or people, to see the immense colonial and general trade of Liverpool necessarily pass by the ports of Waterford and Dublin. The Author has seen a fleet of seventy West Indiamen sail proudly down the Irish Channel to the merchants at Liverpool, and one solitary vessel separate from the fleet, and steer into the port of Dublin, with sugar and molasses, for home consumption. This, however, is not attributable to England, but to the want of enterprise, capital, or credit, of the Dublin traders.

† *See* Vol. I. page 150. The strongest and most effectual step ever taken by the Irish, was the Short Money Bill. It instantly brought the English Minister to his recollection.

Powers of Europe take in the commerce of other and inferior countries. This was a deprivation which nothing could ever remedy or counteract but a local legislature, constantly resident, and constantly alive to the foreign and domestic interests of their country*.

These were some of the causes which rendered a pure and independent Parliament more necessary to Ireland than to her sister country. Ireland never had been a nation of extensive commerce, yet even the narrow channels of her trade were ever contracted by the jealousies and monopoly of England; and this, in public opinion, rendered a pure Parliament indispensable, as the only ample security against such interference †.

To constitute an Irish Parliament, therefore, as much as possible free from every tinge of English commercial or political influence, was plausibly considered essential to the security of the former country. The necessity, in point of fact, can only be judged of by this view of the external state of Ireland at the crisis, when a military convention to discuss Reform surprised every nation of Europe, that

* *See ante* Vol. I., page 215. Sir Lucius O'Brien's Speech on the conduct of Portugal. He proposed merely a declaration of war by Ireland against her, and at the end Portugal was obliged to redress her, notwithstanding the duplicity of the British Minister and Mr. Eden.

† *Vide* King William's reply to the British Parliament, *ante* Vol. I.; and in 1784 the great manufacturing towns of England and Scotland fully displayed the same attachment to their monopolies, even to the ruin of Irish commerce. They have become better informed since that period, and are, of course, more liberal.

would condescend or take the trouble to think about an island so secluded.

The public characters of the Bishop of Derry and his more moderate rival, were so extremely dissimilar, and their composition so totally repugnant, that any amalgamation of sentiment was utterly impossible. A cautious attachment to regularity and order, a sincere love for the people, a polished, courtly respect for the aristocracy, with a degree of popular ambition and a proportion of individual vanity, were the governing principles of Lord Charlemont during the whole of his political conduct. But, unfortunately, these were accompanied by a strong taint of that religious intolerance which has since proved the interruption of Irish tranquillity.

No man in Ireland could do the honours of a review better; and though his personal courage was undoubted, no man in Ireland was likely to do the duties of a battle worse than Lord Charlemont. He guessed the extent of his own powers, and sedulously avoided any situation to which they might prove inadequate. If the people had not respected his virtues, they would not have submitted to his weakness; and if he had not loved the people, he would not have sacrificed his tranquillity to command them. He was an excellent nurse—tender of the constitution, but dreading every effective remedy prescribed for its disorders.

Lord Charlemont saw clearly that the Presidency of the National Convention was of vital consequence to the country, and the master-key of his own importance. He had his little as well as his great

feelings, and both were set into action by this dilemma. He knew full well that if the bold and enterprising Prelate were at the head of that Convention, he would lose all weight with the Government, and all influence with the people. The measure was altogether too strong for the character of Lord Charlemont: he knew he should be incapable of governing that body, if it once got into any leading strings but his own; and it was obvious that if his Lordship should get one step beyond his depth, he never could regain his position. His friends, therefore, anticipated every means to ensure his nomination to the Presidency, and the Bishop of Derry, before he was aware that there would be any effectual opposition to himself, found Lord Charlemont actually placed in that situation, where he might restrain, if not counteract the ultra energies of the reforming party. This was the very step the Government desired; Earl Charlemont might be managed, but the Bishop of Derry would have been intractable. Lord Charlemont involuntarily became the tool of Government, whilst he fancied he was labouring in the service of the people. From this moment the neutralizing system by which its President wished to conduct that Assembly became obvious. Every body might foresee that not only the Convention but perhaps the Volunteer Associations were likely to droop.

Many sensible men had apprehended that the Bishop's politics might be too strong; the very act of his attaching himself to Ireland proved at once their vigour and eccentricity; and hence the Presidency of the Convention, in every point of view, became a measure of extreme importance.

A few of the Members of the House of Commons had declined their election to the Convention*, but some of the ablest and most respectable Members performed their duties alternately in both assemblies. The Lord Lieutenant and his Privy Council at the same time held their sittings at the Castle, exactly midway between the two Parliaments—they received alternate reports from each, and, undecided whether the strong or the passive system were least, or rather most, fraught with danger, they at length wisely adopted their accustomed course, and determined to take advantage of the chances of division, and of the moderation, ductility, and pride of Lord Charlemont.

It was artfully insinuated to Lord Charlemont, by the friends of Government, that the peace of the country was considered to be in his hands—that he had accepted a situation of the most responsible nature—and that if he did not possess sufficient influence to curb the Convention, he ought at once to resign the trust, and thereby give the

* The state of Parliament may be imagined from Mr. Molineux's apologizing to the House for being unable to bring forward a motion of which he had given notice—" As the " close attention he had been obliged to give to the National Convention, did not leave " him time to prepare himself on Parliamentary subjects."

The Members trying the Petition on the Cork Election, adjourned the trial, though the expense was daily very great, as there were some of the Committee who were obliged to attend their duty in the National *Convention*. Both these circumstances passed without any observation from Mr. Fitzgibbon, and it is therefore perfectly clear, that the Government were undecided with respect to the Volunteers.

Parliament a ground of requiring the immediate dissolution of its unconstitutional rival.

Lord Charlemont found himself in a situation of great embarrassment. If he held the Presidency, he was responsible for its proceedings; if he resigned it, he would still be responsible for having countenanced the organization of the assembly—the Bishop would succeed him in his chair—and he would still be considered the inceptive promoter of whatever might be adopted by his successor. Lord Charlemont's pride resisted his resignation. He was too high to be commanded—he was too feeble to control, and he found himself in a state of great perplexity. After much deliberation, he adopted the suggestions of the courtiers, and was led blindfold to that deceptious course, which might answer his tranquil objects for the moment, but was beneath his character, and which must eventually have extinguished all the popular influence of the volunteers, and have destroyed that of the country. In fine, he determined on a line of proceeding entirely unworthy of his former conduct—if he could not govern, he was resolved to temporize, divide, neutralize, and dissolve the assembly.

Though this system at first totally failed, it was (fatally for the Irish Volunteers) eventually successful, and his Lordship commenced the dissolution of that body whose confidence had raised him to eminence—an event in which the British Government foresaw the possibility of a recapture of Irish independence. Lord Charlemont was seized with a dread of that very institution he had originally been so

active in creating; and he entirely, though unconsciously, surrendered himself to the darling objects of an adverse administration.

And here let it be remarked, that the independence of Ireland, which certainly was first achieved by the exertions of the Whigs, was now left unguarded, and afterwards destroyed, by the corrupt tergiversation of many members of that same party. The inconsistent conduct of the Whigs, and their Place Bill in 1794 *, were the remote and the proximate means through which the Union was ultimately effected.

The proceedings of the Convention were carried on for some time with the utmost regularity. The rules and orders, and customs of Parliament were adopted, and the meetings were held and continued without any material interruption. But when such an assembly had been delegated for the purpose of requiring the Parliament to purify itself, and remodel its constitution, it could not be expected that every member could possess similar views or similar feelings, or perhaps observe the most uninterrupted order and discipline in discussions. But the decorum and regularity of the Convention may be best exemplified by observing, that there was not any meeting or discussion of

* The *Place Bill*, perseveringly *forced* by the *Whigs* upon the Government, by admitting the vacating of seats by *nominal* offices (Escheatorship of Munster), enabled Lord Castlereagh to *pack* the Parliament in 1800, with a degree of undisguised effrontery never before attempted by any Minister. See the fac simile of Mr. Crow's Letter to Lord Belvidere, in which the high crimes and misdemeanours of Lord Castlereagh are apparent beyond the power of refutal.

the National Convention of Ireland, from its first to its last sitting, more confused or boisterous than what has very frequently been witnessed in the Commons House of the Imperial Parliament *.

A strong opposition soon arose to the system of Lord Charlemont. Superior public characters at length assumed their stations, and effectively overwhelmed that childish affectation of delicacy, so utterly incompatible with the circumstances of the times, and the spirit of the patriots.

The Bishop, disappointed of the chair, lost no time in rendering it a seat of thorns. He took to his council, the man of all others best adapted to give weight and dignity to the measure of parliamentary reform. Lord Charlemont supported reform most sincerely. Mr. Grattan was also a sincere and honest friend to a purification of Parliament; but his favourite scheme, as he said, to begin with, was

* It is to be lamented, that so respectable and moderate a person as Mr. Hardy should, in his Life of Lord Charlemont, lend himself to so very unjust and exaggerated an account of the proceedings of that Convention. His motive, though not candid, was somewhat amiable, *viz.* to lighten the animadversions which it was impossible to avoid making on the infirm conduct of his patron, Earl Charlemont. There is no doubt that reform was a measure which the united wisdom of the British Empire could not compose without some objectionable point in it; nor had any plan of reform, which approached perfection, been as yet propounded. But it is equally clear, that many of those abuses, which give cause for calling Parliaments venal, might be reformed without in the most remote degree interfering with the principles of the constitution, or in any respect diminishing the symmetry of its parts, or that due proportion of practical rights and prerogatives, on the preservation of which the wisest of all constitutions, modern or ancient, entirely owes its vast superiority.

an internal reform. He partially accomplished that object by the Place Bill, whilst, by one of its clauses, he most certainly lost both the Parliament and the constitution*.

The Bishop and Mr. Flood soon gained a full ascendancy in the Convention, and many men of the very first rank, fortune, and influence, took part in its deliberations. Numerous plans were proposed, and reform, of all others the most difficult of political measures, was sought to be too promptly decided in a heated and impatient assembly.

By the imprudence of both parties, the Convention and the Parliament were driven into a direct collision. After much deliberation, a plan of reform, framed by Mr. Flood, and approved by the Convention, was directed by them to be presented to Parliament forthwith, and the sittings of the Convention were made permanent till Parliament had decided the question. Mr. Flood obeyed his instructions, and moved for leave to bring in a Bill to reform the Parliament.

The Government felt that a collision of the two assemblies was unavoidable. The crisis, however, afforded no opportunity for mature consideration, and it was not long before the danger of so hasty a proceeding was fatally experienced. Government had yielded to the

* The author, when a Member of the Irish Parliament, clearly foresaw the use that any Minister might make of the *vacating clause*, and strongly opposed that clause in his place, though conceded by Government. The *title* of a *Place Bill* was so agreeable to the Opposition, that very few of them ever gave themselves the trouble of considering the details of it.

Volunteers when it could not resist them; but it was not probable that the Parliament would quietly capitulate to the Convention, whilst the triumph of the Parliament implied not only the destruction of the Convention but of the Volunteers.

The measure of reform was, abstractedly, patriotic and noble; but its splendor blinded the nation to its possible results. Its object absorbed every consideration but its attainment. Yet so many persons of character, fortune, and influence, were in both assemblies, that a discreet and prudent deliberation might possibly have devised means of averting so dangerous a crisis.

The Government resolved to risk a direct assault upon the Volunteers, by refusing leave to bring in Mr. Flood's Bill, because it had originated from their deliberations. Strong language was used, but with some precaution, even by Mr. Yelverton, who had been a zealous Volunteer, but was now the Attorney-General. His eloquence was splendid; but the bold, restless, arrogant spirit of Fitzgibbon, ever prone to offend, to irritate, and to pervert, in a speech, replete with the most unnecessary invective, unwarrantable fury and abuse, assailed the Convention, the Volunteers, and the Bill, with every epithet and allusion that could bring the Government and the Volunteers into a state of direct hostility. Had his efforts been crowned with success, British connection would probably not have been of three months' duration.

The House felt the danger of his conduct, and he was not supported in his philipics. Mr. Curran called Mr. Fitzgibbon a maniac and an incendiary; Mr. D. Daley termed Mr. Flood a demagogue.

The debate became quite unprecedented in point of violence and party recrimination, but the good sense of some Members endeavoured to moderate the partisans. The Bill, after a dreadful uproar, was rejected by 158 to 49*: 138 of the majority were placemen, and the very persons on whom the reform was intended to operate. It is very remarkable, that it was 138 placemen that rejected the Reform Bill in 1783, and that it was the same number of placemen who carried the Union Bill in 1800, which, if the reform had succeeded, never could have been passed.

Upon this very decision ultimately depended the existence of Irish independence. The Volunteers were insulted—their Bill was rejected without a hearing—their intentions were calumniated—even their name was reprobated; their services were forgotten, and that very corruption which they sought to reform thus had its full revenge.

Mr. Conolly—that weak, obstinate, and most inconsistent of the Irish Whigs, whom family and fortune alone could have raised from obscurity—endeavoured to give a finishing blow to that virtuous Association †, which, in the same place, he had so often eulogised. He now

* Ninety-three Members were absent.

† After the division, Mr. Conolly moved "That an humble address be presented to his "Majesty, to declare the perfect satisfaction we feel, and the blessings we enjoy under his "Majesty's most auspicious Government, and our present happy constitution."—"And "that, at *this time*, we feel it *peculiarly* incumbent on us to declare our resolution to "*support* the same with our *lives and fortunes*."

This was an unequivocal attack upon the Volunteers; it was carried *unanimously*.

explicitly denounced the Volunteers as enemies to that Constitution which they had obtained for their country, and which he afterwards surrendered to the Ministers, against whose measures he had arrayed himself on every important occasion*.

This too great confidence of the Volunteers, in the success of their measures, had thus led them rapidly into a proceeding that required the most deliberate consideration. The refusal of Parliament to receive their Bill created a sensation which, for a moment, left the peace of Ireland on the very brink of a precipice. Lord Charlemont mistook his fears for his prudence; the Volunteers mistook their resentment for their patriotism: both were disposed to extremities, which neither could have justified, and some decisive crisis appeared absolutely inevitable. That great army, which had the year before received the unanimous thanks of the Parliament, were, by the motion of a Whig, nearly denounced as rebels; and little less than a declaration of war against them was voted, even without a division in the Parliament.

The fatal dilemma, resistance or dissolution, alone remained to the Convention. Some of the most intelligent of that body wished that a day or two should be taken to reflect on the best course of proceeding. But Lord Charlemont dreaded the consequence of discussion,

* The family of Mr. Conolly had been one of the most respectable of the English settlers in Ireland. He died without children—his race is extinct—his fortune divided—and his memory requires no eulogy. Lord Castlereagh was married to his relative, and in 1800 he surrendered his country and his character to his Lordship's purposes.

and decided on the insiduous, but, for the moment, safer step of dissolving the Convention.

It is not easy to describe the uneasiness and deep solicitude of the Convention pending that debate. Reporters were perpetually passing and repassing between the two assemblies; the impatience of the Volunteers was rising into a storm; Earl Charlemont, overwhelmed by his apprehension, saw no course but to induce them to adjourn; they, however, waited till long after midnight, in a state between anger and anxiety. Lord Charlemont did not oppose, but he duped them. He received a note from the House of Commons, which he said left no hopes of a speedy decision; and he had the address and influence to induce the Convention to adjourn till Monday morning, at the usual hour—then to decide upon ulterior measures if their Bill should be rejected. But his Lordship had secretly determined that they should meet no more; the death of the Convention was pronounced by their adjournment: and the honest, patriotic, but feeble Charlemont, on the Monday morning began to extinguish that institution to which he owed his celebrity, and to paralyse that proud popular spirit to which alone Ireland was indebted for its constitution and independence.

Sunday was passed between his indecision and his timidity. In his weak and virtuous mind, pride and patriotism were ranged on the one side, but imbecility and a sense of incapacity to meet the crisis, blinded him to the nature of that insiduous conduct, which on this, and perhaps the only, occasion of his life, he meditated against his benefactors.

He had a meeting of a few of his friends, most of whom had the same sensations as himself. The Bishop of Derry and Mr. Flood appeared like daring spectres to his imagination; he dreaded to meet them at the Convention: and after much deliberation, he decided on a course which detracted from his reputation, and for which nothing but the critical situation of the country could allow him one point of justification.

On the Monday morning he repaired to the Rotunda, before the usual hour of sitting. None but his own immediate partisans were aware of his intention: the meeting was expected to be most important, and the Delegates had no suspicion of his Lordship's early attendance.

On his taking the chair, a Delegate immediately arose to expatiate on the insults which the Convention had received during the debate of Saturday. His Lordship became alarmed: a protracted statement might give time for the arrival of Delegates, when all his objects would surely be frustrated. He at once took a step which had scarcely a parallel for duplicity, and which, though of the shallowest nature, proved the most effectual.

He instantly silenced the Member, as being out of order, on the ground that one House of Parliament never could take notice of what passed in another; and that the Convention had adopted the rules and orders of Parliament.

Thus, by collecting every ray of feebleness and absurdity into one focus, he prevented any continuation of the subject; and whilst he

declared the Convention a House of Parliament, resolved to terminate its existence.

After some conversation, a farewell address was rapidly passed to his Majesty, and his Lordship boldly adjourned the Convention—*sine die.* The Rotunda was quickly vacated, and when the residue of the Delegates, the ardent friends of the Volunteer body, came to take their places, they found the doors closed, the Chairman withdrawn, and that body, upon which the nation relied for its independence, dissolved for ever.

The Delegates, mortified and abashed, returned to their homes; many friends of Earl Charlemont were soon ashamed of their conduct; and his Lordship's want of sincerity, for the first time, was indisputably proved, and underwent well-merited animadversions.

The Volunteer Delegates, having returned to their constituents, could give but a puerile account either of their proceedings or of their chairman. Every eye now turned on the Earl of Bristol, who became the idol of the people. Whilst Lord Charlemont gently descended into the placid ranks of order and of courtesy, the Bishop rose like a phœnix from the ashes of the Convention. The Volunteer Corps, in many districts, beat to arms; they paraded—they deliberated—but their bond of union was enfeebled or dissevered.

Amongst the weaknesses of Lord Charlemont, he had an odious tinge of bigotry, and was decidedly opposed to the admission of Catholics to the full enjoyment of the Constitution. The Bishop, with more zeal and much greater abilities, was their warmest advocate.

Exclusion on the one side, and toleration on the other, became the theme of both. The dispute ran high ; partisans were not wanting ; the people began to separate ; and this unfortunate controversy gradually terminated in that fatal dissension which never ceased to divide the Irish nation, and at length effected all the objects of mischief that the most ruthless enemies of the Irish could have expected, or have even wished.

After this fatal event, the Volunteers became less calm and more unguarded. The address of one regiment to the Bishop of Derry forms an interesting feature of Irish history, and it gave rise to a reply, such as had not been ventured upon by any public character in either country.

A northern corps, of considerable strength, had adopted the patriotic title of the " Bill of Rights' Battalion," and had entered into resolutions to " support their constitution, or be buried under its ruins." A large detachment of that corps marched from their county, determined to uphold the Bishop's principles, and support his measures, with their lives and fortunes. The address and the answer are strongly illustrative of the spirit of the times, and the embarrassment of the Cabinet *.

This declaration ran like wild fire throughout the nation. The last sentence was the boldest and most unequivocal, the most daring and decisive, used in Ireland. A British Earl and Irish Bishop, of great wealth, learning, abilities, and of unbounded popular influence,

* *Vide* Appendix.

risking his fortune, and perhaps his life, in support of Ireland, was in every respect a phenomenon.

His Lordship's desire to put himself at the head of the Irish nation was no longer doubtful, and well was he calculated to lead it to every extremity. All men were now convinced that, had his Lordship been President of the National Convention, the moderate and courtly Charlemont must either have submitted to his standard, or have sunk into nihility.

The Government now became seriously and justly alarmed. Never was any government in greater difficulty. Various were its advisers at this important moment: those in council, whose arrogance and arbitrary feelings generally outweighed their prudence, strongly enforced the most dangerous of all measures—the immediate arrest of the Bishop. They contended that, by such energy, and by at once depriving the Volunteers of so enthusiastic a partizan, they might check their progress; but they never reflected on the utter inability of Government to enforce that resolution.

The daring and dangerous strength of the Bishop's language—the glaring light which, by the last sentence, was thrown upon the conditional terms of allegiance, as settled under the precedent of 1680, though totally inapplicable to the Irish nation, or to the then state of its connection with Great Britain, astounded all men. But the Government soon perceived the inevitable convulsion which must have attended so violent a step as Fitzgibbon had recommended. It would have been the signal for 100,000 Volunteers rushing to the rescue, and one week

would have produced an insurrection :—the smallest spark would now have inflamed the nation.

The Government resolved to watch the progress of events over which control might be impossible. This course fully corresponded with their utmost expectations.

Many of the most patriotic Volunteers thought the address of the Bishop true in principle, but too strong in terms, particularly as it was addressed to an armed corps, in the centre of thousands, who could not fail to kindle at the promethean fire with which his Lordship had so classically animated his oration.

The idea of coercing the Parliament very rapidly lost ground, and in a short time it became the general opinion, that Mr. Flood's Reform Bill had been opposed by many upon the principle, that it was rather a command than a solicitation; and that it would be prudent to give the Parliament a fair trial before they absolutely condemned them. It was thought that the objection being removed, by the dissolution of the National Convention, a new bill should be presented in the ordinary course of parliamentary proceedings, by members solely in the civil character, and the disposition of the House and the resolves of Government be thus fairly ascertained.

The people were severed, but the Government remained compact; the Parliament was corrupted, the Volunteers were paralyzed, and the high spirit of the nation exhibited a rapid declension. The jealousy of patriots is always destructive of liberty.

A new event, however, soon proved the weak delusions of Earl

Charlemont. At the dissolution of the Convention, he recommended a reform bill to be presented to Parliament, as emanating solely from civil bodies, unconnected with military character *. Every experiment is silly, where its failure can be clearly anticipated; and almost every man in Ireland well knew, that such a bill would be lost in such a Parliament. Mr. Flood, however, tried the experiment, and it failed; he attempted it without spirit, because he was without confidence. Mr. Grattan supported it with languor, because it was the measure of his rival. The military bill had been scouted, because it was military, and the civil bill was rejected because it was popular. A corrupt senate never wants a vicious apology.

The Volunteers now drooped, yet their resolutions were published, their meetings were not suspended, and their reviews continued; but these appeared only as boyish shows, to amuse the languid vanity of their deluded general. He passed their lines in military state; he received their salutes with grace and condescension, and recommended them to be tranquil and obedient; and, after a peaceable campaign of four hours' duration, composed his mild and grammatical dispatches, and returned to his Marino, and to the enjoyment of the more congenial elegancies of literature and of private friendships.

The temperate system now gained ground; some patriots lost

* The decided opinion of the whole Bar, after a long and solemn discussion, was, that the Volunteers, as an armed body had not divested themselves of any civil right, political or personal.

their energy, others lost their influence, and the Government experienced the wisdom of their negative measures.

That noble institution, the Volunteers of Ireland, survived, however, these blows some years. This only luminary of her sphere was, by the devices of the Government, gradually obscured, and, at length, extinguished!!

CHAPTER IX.

State of Public Feeling in Ireland—Commercial Jealousy and Monopolizing Spirit of the English—Taxation and Expenditure—Tariff between England and Ireland—Splendor of the Vice-Regal Court—Its Laxity of Morals—Condition of Ireland—Mr. Pitt's Eleven Commercial Propositions—Violent Debates—Artifices of Mr. Orde—The Propositions amended—Mr. Pitt's Twenty Commercial Resolutions—Violent Debates—Conduct of Messrs. Grattan, Flood, and Conolly—Characters of Messrs. Forbes and Hardy, and of Lord Carleton—Death of the Duke of Rutland—The Marquess of Buckingham appointed Viceroy—The Regency Question—Conduct of Mr. Pitt, of the Marquess of Buckingham, and of Mr. Fitzgibbon—The Ponsonby Family secede from Government—Debates upon the Regency Question—Address to the Prince—The Marquess of Buckingham refuses to transmit the Address—A Deputation of Lords and Commons appointed to carry the Address to the Regent—Vote of Censure against the Marquess of Buckingham—He leaves Ireland—Reception of the Irish Deputies by the Regent—The Recovery of the King—The Earl of Westmorland appointed Viceroy.

It was not natural to suppose that the concessions to Ireland could have been voluntary on the part of Great Britain. They were a sacrifice to circumstances, with the mental reservation of acting upon the original principle, as often as events might facilitate such a proceeding. The egotistical character of the English trader, the avarice inseparable from mercantile education, and the national impatience, under even an ideal rivalship, united in exciting every effort to neutralize the concessions, and it soon became palpable to both nations, that the free trade of Ireland

might prove a sore impediment to the gratifications of the English monopoly. It was not rational to expect that England could so suddenly renounce the force of ancient habit, and of engrafted prejudices, and become, at once, liberal, enlightened, and magnanimous. No person conversant with the ruling principles of mankind, could suppose that her very nature could change in a day, and that she could be sincere towards Ireland, as long as it was imagined that the two countries had repugnant interests.

The insatiable cupidity of British capitalists, and the necessities of the British Government, had commenced their coalition even against the prosperity of England. The extravagance of the Government was supplied with facility, by the usuries of the monied interests, and a rein was given to that boundless waste of public money, which terminated in an overwhelming debt, and, which nearly exhausted financial ingenuity, having not unfrequently assailed the principles and safeguards of her own Constitution.

These concessions were likewise rendered peculiarly unpalatable, by political circumstances. England, at that gloomy epoch, had not been able to retain one disinterested friend or sincere ally in Europe. She had subsidized German mendicants, and she had purchased human blood; she had hired military slaves from beggarly principalities, but these were not alliances for the honour of Great Britain.

The character which England had justly acquired, previously to the year 1780, had raised her reputation above that of all the powers of Europe. The new attempt on Ireland, proclaimed that her sordid interests now absorbed every other consideration.

The minister's only excuse for his schemes was, the pecuniary wants of Government. But Mr. Pitt feared that Ireland would murmur at paying her portion of his profuse extravagance. Taxation commenced on luxuries, proceeded to comforts, to necessaries, and, at length, extended its grasp to justice and morality*. A treaty for a commercial tariff between the two nations exposed that duplicity, which had been scarcely suspected. The Irish, unaccustomed to receive any concession or favour, and little versed in the schemes of commercial polity, gave a giddy confidence to the dignified terms in which their claims had been acknowledged. Some able men, however, reasoned that the very composition of British Cabinets, the means of getting into power, and of keeping it, their private interests, and public objects were decidedly adverse to any liberal participation of commercial advantages with Ireland. Upon the English monopolists alone, ministers could depend for replenishing their Exchequer, and for their retaining their power. Men also reasoned, that, if England and Ireland should clash on any point of commerce, a British Parliament could not serve two conflicting interests, and an Irish Parliament was not likely to surrender rights she had obtained with so much difficulty and danger.

It was, therefore, palpable (as Mr. Fox had mysteriously declared) that some further international measures were absolutely necessary; and as Ireland could now legislate for her own commerce with all the world, it seemed advisable, that a commercial treaty should be contracted by the

* Stamps, and the expense of proceedings in Courts of Equity, render justice nearly unattainable by poor persons, or on moderate demands.

The mischievous profusion with which *licences* are granted to the low *drinking* houses, and the present system of licencing, may be set down in the list of other causes of immorality.

two countries, which might provide against any collision, and secure to both nations the advantages of the federal compact.

Nothing could be more plausible than the theory of this measure, and few things more difficult than to carry it into execution.

The debates on these commercial propositions are not within the range of these Historic Anecdotes*. But it is essential to remark upon them with reference to the conduct of Great Britain, and it may be proper to allude to the state of Ireland, at the moment selected by the minister for making the first palpable attempt to recapture the independence of that devoted country.

The country was rapidly advancing to eminence;—commerce was improving—the public debt was light—the taxes inconsiderable—emigration had ceased, and population was augmenting: nearly two hundred

* The debates of the Irish Parliament, upon these propositions, were taken with very considerable accuracy, by Woodfall, and published by Byrne, in Dublin. They are valuable for disclosing the political characters and talents of nearly all the men of note, then members of the Irish Commons. Scarcely any other document is necessary to show the arrogant and decided character of Mr. Fitzgibbon, which distinguished him through all the subsequent concerns of Ireland, until, in a characteristic attempt to assume importance, and lord it over the British Peerage, he was politically slain by the Duke of Bedford.

It was observed that Lord Clare, after his duel with Mr. Curran, was more overbearing than ever; it was accounted for, by the *impunity* which he experienced upon that encounter. But if the *same ceremony* had been repeated with him in a few other instances, he would have reflected on the old Portuguese proverb, "*the pitcher that is taken often to the well is broken at last.*"

His Lordship was in the habit of saying, "he would make Ireland as tame as a *mutilated cat.*" It was very practicable to have brought Mr. Fitzgibbon himself to a similar quiescence; but, when he became Lord Chancellor he was clear of the *breaks*, and acted accordingly.

nobles, and all the commoners, expended their rents amidst those who paid them. The Parliament seemed to have been awakened to a more sedulous attention to the wishes of the people; Mr. Pitt saw that the nation was in good humour, and determined, whilst he flattered their vanity, to invade their constitution. The state of the Irish court and aristocracy, at this period, seemed particularly favourable to the experiment. The constant residence of the landed proprietors was an incalculable benefit; and their influence, in mitigating the avarice of the clergy and the irritating tyranny of the tithing system, was most grateful to the people.

The vice-regal establishment was much more brilliant and hospitable than that of the monarch: the utmost magnificence signalized the entertainments of the Duke and Duchess of Rutland, and their luxury gave a powerful impulse to industry. It is necessary to observe, that this magnificence was accompanied by circumstances which formed a new epoch in Irish society: a laxity of decorum, in both sexes of the fashionable aristocracy, had commenced, and though the voluptuous brilliancy of the Court was dazzling to the country, it was deficient in that calm, elevated dignity which had generally distinguished former vice-royalties. Nothing could be more honourable than the conduct of the Duke of Rutland; but the sudden relaxation of manners at his Court, was by no means gratifying to those who had been accustomed to the almost undeviating decorum of the Irish females*.

* Before this period there had been but two actions of crim. con. in Ireland, in both of which noblemen were the plaintiffs:—Lord Belvidere against his brother, and Lord Lisle against Dennis M'Carthy, his postillion. There had, however, been several hundreds tried in England. It is a species of action inconsistent with every principle of honour, religion, and morality: the evidence

The proposition for a treaty of commerce between England and Ireland, as two independent countries, necessarily excites a deeper consideration than any other event of her history. Ireland had been released from slavery by the repeal of 6 Geo. I.; but that repeal might be rescinded. She was allowed to call herself independent by the Renunciation Act of England: that Act was also repealable. No confession of usurpation had been made by England, and Ireland, in fact, was free only on sufferance; —no decisive *international* overt act had taken place between the two countries. But Mr. Pitt, in his anxiety to encroach upon the independent spirit of the compact, confirmed it upon a clear international principle.

Mr. Orde, the Secretary of the Viceroy, on the 7th of February, 1785, proposed to the Irish Parliament eleven resolutions, as a distinct commercial treaty between two independent states. As such they were received, debated, virtually rejected by the Irish Parliament, and withdrawn by the Minister, ten of these eleven articles appearing to be concessions by England, but the eleventh resolution (most artfully and expertly introduced) being framed so as to declare Ireland for ever a dependent nation, and to appropriate a considerable part of the Irish revenue irrevocably to the purposes of Great Britain.

daily published, and circulated in every family, renders the "Societies for discountenancing Vice" perfectly ridiculous. Were the proceedings in such cases *criminal* instead of *civil*, and were severe *personal* punishments and infamy substituted for *pecuniary* atonement, the greatest vice of society would surely decline, many a high family be preserved from eternal stigma, and even the Bishops, in the House of Peers, be saved from listening to obscenities, and from severing those ties which the Church pronounces indissoluble. It is a remarkable circumstance in England, that if a man steal a *wife* he is applauded for gallantry; but if he steal *only* her *petticoats*, he might be hanged for the offence.

Mr. Brownlow, one of the first country gentlemen of Ireland, most zealously opposed it, as a badge of slavery, and an attempt to encroach on the independence of his country. It was, however, conditionally accepted, after much discussion; during which a manœuvre was practised by the Secretary, which would have disgraced the lowest trader. Mr. Orde expatiated with great plausibility upon the kind concessions of the English Government, and the extraordinary advantages likely to result to Ireland; and urged the House to come to a hasty decision in their favour, "lest "the English monopolists should pour in applications to the English "Parliament to stop their progress," as too partial to Ireland. The bait took, and the resolutions were approved, and sent back with some alterations.

His artifice, however, was defeated, and Mr. Orde was left in a situation of excessive embarrassment, and appeared equally ridiculous to both countries. Mr. Pitt having gained his first point, conceived it possible to assail more openly the independence of Ireland, by attaching her finances and commerce to Great Britain, so that her own Parliament should become, if not impotent, at least contemptible.

Instead, therefore, of rediscussing the eleven resolutions as approved by Ireland, he brought twenty propositions before the English Parliament, incorporated in a Bill, framed with such consummate artifice, that it affected to confer favours whilst it rendered the Irish Parliament only the register of all English statutes relating to commerce; and, by a perpetual money bill, appropriated a proportion of her hereditary revenue to the uses of the British Navy.

Mr. Orde* himself was utterly unable to proceed, and, after many adjournments, on the 12th of August, 1785, he moved for leave to bring in a Bill pursuant to Mr. Pitt's twenty propositions. The country gentlemen of Ireland, though they did not understand the commercial details of the subject, perceived the design of the minister. A storm arose in Parliament—the landed interests of the country were alarmed—the country gentlemen grew boisterous—the law officers were arrogant—the patriots retorted, and rendered the debate one of the most inflammatory that had for some years been witnessed. Long and furious was that remarkable contest. Fitzgibbon, the Attorney-General, exhibited an arrogance which at least equalled any of his former exhibitions; he insulted many, and used the most overbearing language to all, who opposed him. The debate continued the entire night, and, at nine o'clock next morning, the violence was undiminished, and it was difficult to put the question; at length a division at once announced the equivocal victory of

* Mr. Orde, the Secretary—a cold, cautious, slow, and sententious man, tolerably well informed, but not at all talented—had a mind neither powerful nor feeble—as a public man he could not be despised, yet he was little esteemed—as an English Factor, he could plausibly enhance the property he was entrusted to dispose of, though he well knew there was many a rent within its folds.—In fact, Mr. Orde, saturated with the sediments of diplomacy, was well selected for some purposes, but without the addition of stimulants could have made no way in Ireland—he had much to gain, for of political reputation he had nothing to be deprived. Parliamentary and patriotic talents at that period, if not verging towards their decline, were certainly not progressive, and the system of ministerial patronage was rising fast to its pristine vigour; Mr. Orde, therefore, gained much way with expectants, by the liberality of his jobs, and with the doubtful by his caution—he certainly did as much as could be effected on the subject, and a British peerage consoled him for his Irish discomfiture.

the Minister. The numbers for Government were 127—against the Minister 108, leaving only a majority of 19. As the motion was only for leave to bring in the Bill, it was obvious that on a second reading it would have been disgracefully rejected. Mr. Flood then moved a declaration of rights, another division still less favourable to the Minister succeeded; an adjournment, therefore, and a prorogation took place, and the subject was never renewed.

Mr. Pitt never would have brought in his Bill had he not been assured of success by the Irish Secretary; this defeat, therefore, was the more galling, and it confirmed, in his persevering and inflexible mind, a determination, if he could not rule the Irish Parliament, to annihilate the independence of Ireland. Mr. Pitt never was scrupulous as to means, and a much more important point shortly confirmed his determination, by proving that, upon vital subjects, he had not yet sufficiently humbled the people, or been able sufficiently to seduce their representatives.

These propositions were in fact defeated by the honest obstinacy of the country gentlemen, and by the influence and talents of Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood, who, upon this subject alone, were perfectly in unison. It is worthy of observation, that the zeal and honesty of Mr. Conolly, in supporting the independence of his country against the agency of Mr. Orde, were utterly reversed by his subsequently supporting the still more destructive measures of his corrupt and unfortunate relative.

During these scenes, some men, who, though not of the highest order of talent, were in considerable reputation and of untainted integrity, exerted themselves in defence of their country;—amongst them, the most active was Mr. Forbes, the Member for Drogheda. Without any very dis-

tinguished natural abilities, and but moderately acquainted with literature, by his zealous attachment to Mr. Grattan, his public principles, and attention to business, he received much respect, and acquired some influence in the House of Commons. He had practised at the bar with a probability of success, but he mistook his course, and became a statesman, as which he never could rise to any great distinction. As a lawyer, he undervalued himself and was modest; as a statesman he over-rated himself, and was presumptuous. He benefited his party by his indefatigable zeal, and reflected honour upon it by his character; he was a good Irishman, and, to the last, undeviating in his public principles. He died in honourable exile, as Governor of the Bahama Isles*.

In a class lower as a politician, but higher as a man of letters, and equal in integrity, stood Mr. Hardy, the biographer of Earl Charlemont. He had been returned to Parliament by the interest of Earl Granard, and faithfully followed the fortunes of that nobleman and his relative, Earl Moira, throughout all the political vicissitudes of Ireland.

His mind was too calm, and his habits too refined, for the rugged drudgery of the bar—he was not sufficiently profound for a statesman, and was too mild for a political wrangler—his ambition was languid, and he had no love of lucre—he therefore was not eminent either as a politician or a lawyer. Like many other modest and accomplished men, he was

* Mr. Forbes had an unprepossessing person, tall and slender, graceless in delivery, with a full and indistinct voice. It was fortunate that he had earnestness and good sense to attach his auditors—at times he was extremely useful to Mr. Grattan—sound reasoning always supplied his defects in eloquence, and whilst his excellent character raised him above reproach, his spirit protected him from insult.

universally esteemed, and totally neglected;—he had sufficient talents had he possessed energy, and his interest was the last of his considerations; his means were narrow, and his exertions inconsiderable. When his friends came into power he was placed by Mr. George Ponsonby, then Chancellor, in an office unequal to his merits and to his services*;—he died as he lived, admired and neglected. In Parliament he was heard with respect by every party, and never failed to make an elegant and classic appeal to reason and to feeling. He sometimes delighted the House by the elegance of his language; but he was incapable of impressing it by the power of his argument. As an historian and biographer he compiled well, but his style, like himself, is correct, but deficient of vigour.

Mr. (afterwards Viscount) Carleton was, during a part of this important period, Solicitor-General of Ireland, and no man was less adequate to the parliamentary duties of that office. He was, of course, but little noticed by the recorders of that epoch, and is almost a dead letter in the memoirs of Ireland. His conduct on the Union, however, was remarkable.

Viscount Carleton was the son of a respectable merchant of Cork, and was created Solicitor-General when the superior law offices were con-

* His life of Lord Charlemont is meritorious as to compilation—slothful in detail—accurate in remark, and erroneous in character—he has overrated Lord Charlemont, as a soldier and a statesman—to confirm his character he should have suppressed his correspondence—he palliates Lord Clare, and makes Lord Rockingham an old gentlewoman, and most undoubtedly mistakes the shading in most of his portraits—he was brother-in-law to Dixon, Bishop of Down, one of the most pure, accomplished, and amiable prelates that Ireland could ever boast—a more faultless personage was scarcely to be met with.

The office given to Mr. Hardy was that of Commissioner of Appeals—about £.600 a year —a situation in which he lingered, and in which he died.

sidered as stations of very considerable weight, and of much official dignity. At the bar he was efficient; on the bench he was exemplary. With a plain and exclusively forensic talent, cultivated by an assiduity nothing could surpass, he attained very considerable professional eminence: his whole capacity seemed to have been regularly formed into points of law, numbered, and always ready for use. His limited genius seldom wandered beyond its natural boundary; but whenever it chanced to stray to general subjects, it appeared always to return to its symmetrical technicalities with great gratification.

Habit and application had made him a singular proficient in that methodical hair-splitting of legal distinctions, and in reconciling the incongruity of conflicting precedents, which generally beget the reputation of an able lawyer. The Government were glad to get him out of Parliament, and, without intending it, did an essential service to the due administration of justice.

As Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, his naturally gentle manners and affability, his legal knowledge, and the rectitude of his decisions, procured him the unanimous approbation of his profession. He had not an enemy, save one*, in Ireland. But, even in his prime, he was a most feeble and inefficient legislator and statesman; his capacity was not sufficiently comprehensive to embrace subjects of constitutional polity. He brought the attributes of his trade into Parliament, and appeared either blind or indifferent to those varied and luxuriant labyrinths which

* Lord Clare never liked him—their manners and tempers were altogether repugnant; and Lord Clare never could tolerate any man who was esteemed a better lawyer than himself. He used to call him, in derision, "Nurse Carleton."

the principles of civil liberty eternally disclose, and which the enlightened legislator never fails to discover, and never ceases to enjoy.

When men shall read the childish, contemptible, and strained attempts at reasoning, which were pronounced by him upon the discussion of the Union, and reflect upon the duplicity of his profession, and his predetermined emigration, his fall, for it was one, must be lamented. It must be regretted, that a judge so competent and independent, and a man so respected, should have yielded his country against his conviction, and lent his fair fame to the corrupting Minister*.

The details of this attempt to recall the concessions of England are on record: its importance, as a simple measure, has ceased; but its bearing strongly on the question of an union (being, in fact, its eldest sister), rendered some account of it essential to this memoir.

The British Government, for a short time, affected to relinquish the idea of opposing the commercial interests of Ireland. It was determined to let the Irish take their own course, and patiently to await, till circumstances might enable them to act more decisively against their independence.

Mr. Pitt was obliged to rest upon his oars; his own bark was tempest-tossed, whilst that of Ireland was running rapidly before a prosperous wind. This was the state of Ireland after the proposition-tempest had subsided, when the Duke of Rutland's incessant conviviality deprived (October, 1787) the British Peerage of an honourable, generous, and

* After Lord Carleton had supported the Union he was suffered to retire, *on the ground of declining health*, on a magnificent pension. He immediately emigrated to London, and lived in excellent health and spirits *for four-and-twenty years*.

high-minded nobleman, and Ireland of a Viceroy, whose Government did nothing, and whose Court did worse than nothing, for the Irish people. With the aristocracy, the Duke was singularly popular, and he was not disliked by any class;—but his advisers were profligate and corrupt. His Grace and the Duchess were reckoned the handsomest couple in Ireland.

The Marquess of Buckingham was sent, a second time, to govern Ireland. As a moderate, hard-working Viceroy, with a popish wife, he was selected, as not unlikely to conciliate the Irish.

Little, however, was it supposed, that the most important and embarrassing of all constitutional questions between the two countries was likely to occur during his administration. Unfortunately, however, such did arise, through the necessity of appointing a Regent during the Monarch's aberration of intellect.

This great question, and its influence on the federative compact of two nations, now entirely occupied the attention of both Parliaments. The Prince, at that period, held a line of politics, and employed a class of servants, different from those he has since adopted. Mr. Pitt well knew that his own reign, and that of the Cabinet he commanded, were in danger —that they could endure no longer than some tatters of prerogative should be in his hand, by which he could curb a Regency, that might otherwise be fatal to his ambition.

He therefore resisted, with all his energy, the heir-apparent's right to the prerogatives of his father, and struggled to restrain the Regent from many of those essential powers of the executive authority.

The Prince acted with that dignity of which he was so much a

master, but, through necessity, submitted to the restraints prescribed by his own servants; and, from a delicacy to the feelings of his mother, retained in his service a minister whom, on every other ground, he would have been more than justified in dismissing with indignation. The Irish nation had nothing to do with this private circumstance, and the Parliament would not obey the minister, or submit to the mandates of the British Government. They decided that the Prince was their Regent, in virtue of the federative compact; and they also determined that he should have all the regal prerogatives connected with the monarchy of Ireland.

Upon this subject debates arose, more embarrassing than any that had ever taken place in the Irish Parliament. It was a *casus omissus*, both in the British Revolution of 1688, and in the Irish Constitution of 1782.

The question was, whether the Parliament of Ireland were competent, by address or otherwise, to invest the Regent with more extensive privileges, as to Ireland, than the British Parliament had thought fit to entrust to him in England.

This point was without precedent; but it was argued, that if an Act of Parliament were necessary, no Regent could be appointed, for an Act implied the existence of the Third Estate, and the proper proceeding was, therefore, by address. The probability of His Majesty's recovery had a powerful influence on placemen and official connections. The Marquess of Buckingham took a decisive part against the Prince, and made bold and hazardous attempts upon the rights of the Irish Parliament. That body was indignant at his presumption, and he found it impossible to govern or control even the habitual supporters of every administration. Fitzgibbon,

the Attorney-General, was promised the seals, if he succeeded for Mr. Pitt, and he even announced that every opponent should be made the victim of his suffrage*. Lord Buckingham even threatened those who would not coincide with the British Parliament; the then powerful family of Ponsonby, decided supporters of Government, on this occasion seceded from the Marquess, and which gave rise to the famous and spirited Round Robin†. Many, however, may be induced to ask, why it was expedient to be honest in a circle.

After long and ardent debates, an address of the Irish Parliament was voted to the Prince, declaring him Regent of the Kingdom of Ireland, in as full and ample a manner as was enjoyed by his Royal Father‡.

The Address having passed both the Lords and Commons§, it was sent to the Viceroy to be transmitted to His Royal Highness. The Marquess of Buckingham peremptorily refused acquiescence, and an

* Sir John Tydd, a friend of Government, was asked how he intended to play his *cards*—he replied, very wisely, "that it was hard to answer that question, till he knew what were *trumps*."

† That Round Robin was so *decisive*, that it was brought forward in 1800, as the most powerful argument in favour of a union. It is thought right to insert an exact copy, as it so much influenced the loss of the Irish Constitution and independence. (*Vide* Appendix).

‡ The words of the Address are—"under the style and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, "in the name and on behalf of His Majesty, to exercise and administer, according to the laws "and constitution of this Kingdom, *all* regal powers, jurisdiction, and prerogatives to the Crown "and Government thereof belonging.

§ In the Commons, the Address was moved by Mr. Grattan, and was carried without a division. It was moved in the Lords by the Earl of Charlemont, and was carried by a majority of only 19. Contents 45—Non-Contents 26. Most of the minority recorded their protests.

embassy of two Lords and four Commoners* was immediately appointed to humbly present the Address, in the name of the nation, to the Prince. A severe resolution of censure was then moved against the Lord Lieutenant, for a breach of official duty. It passed both Houses, and obliged him to quit the country. Though his extensive patronage was craftily applied, and had procured him many adherents, he never afterwards could make any head in the Irish Parliament. The Address was the boldest step yet taken by the Irish nation, and it brought the independence of Ireland to a practical issue.

The circumstances of the Irish embassy are too well known to require much observation. Providence restored His Majesty at the very moment of the Prince's investiture. The Irish embassy was received with the most distinguished honour by the Prince, and returned, with the consciousness of having fulfilled its duty to the Monarch and to the Heir-Apparent.

Mr. Pitt pursued his object with indefatigable industry and perseverance. A nobleman of high rank, undistinguished and inoffensive—neither proud nor humble—talented nor otherwise—extravagant nor parsimonious—was sought for as a Viceroy, and was found in the Earl of Westmorland.

* The Lords were, the Duke of Leinster and Lord Charlemont.—The Commons, Messrs. Conolly, J. O'Neil, W. B. Ponsonby, and J. Stewart. In the Commons, the number upon Mr. Grattan's Motion, for thus transmitting the Address, were—for the Motion, 130; against it, 74.

CHAPTER X.

Character of Lord Westmorland, and of Major Hobart—Their Administration of Affairs—Opposition in Parliament—Place Bill, Pension Bill, and Responsibility Bill—Inquiries into the Sale of Peerages and into the Police Jobs of Dublin—Observations upon the Place Bill—Its fatal Consequences—Character of Mr. Grattan; he is over-reached by the Government—Catholic Claims—The Elective Franchise, and Forty-Shilling Freeholders—Concessions spurned and granted by the same Parliament—Inconsistencies of Lord Clare and Lord Charlemont—Character of Mr. Keagh—Is opposed by Mr. Duigennan—Arguments upon the Coronation Oath, and upon the Position of the Catholics—Lord Fitzwilliam—His Integrity and Spirit—Treachery of Mr. Pitt towards him—He is dismissed—Arrival of Lord Camden—Popular Tumults—Lord Clare's Life saved by his Sister—United Irishmen—Character of Lord Camden and Mr. Pelham—Lord Castlereagh appointed Irish Secretary—Lord Carhampton, Commander-in-Chief, resolves to prevent the Rebellion—Refuses to obey the Lord Lieutenant—Submits to the Royal Sign Manual—Resigns his Command, and denounces the Designs of Mr. Pitt—Sir Ralph Abercromby appointed Commander-in-Chief—Refuses to enforce the Cruelties of Government—Resigns with Disgust—Horrible State of Ireland—Crimes committed against the People—Dexterity of the Irish at the Pike—Sketches of the Counties of Wicklow and Wexford—The Gentry of Wexford—Their Violence and Cruelties against the People—Sir Richard Musgrave and Lord Cornwallis—Popular Retaliation—Feelings of the People against the Aristocracy and Gentry.

Mr. Pitt felt that he had made but slight progress toward the union of Ireland; his projects had turned against himself; and the Irish Parliament, on the subject of the Regency, had taught him a lesson he had had but little expectation of learning. However, the spirit of the Irish confirmed that austere and pertinacious statesman in his resolution to rule

Ireland in Great Britain, and to leave her no power to impede the course of his ambition.

The Earl of Westmorland was by no means ill adapted to the Irish people. He was sufficiently reserved to command respect, and splendid enough to uphold his station. His moderate conviviality procured him rational partisans, and his hospitality engendered, at least, temporary friendships. He was honourable and good-natured, whilst, among the higher orders and his intimate associates, he was a popular Viceroy.

The Secretary, Major Hobart (Lord Buckinghamshire), was more a man of the world, and was admirably calculated for the higher classes of the Irish.

A perfect gentleman; cheerful, convivial, and conciliating, though decided; liberal, yet crafty; kind-hearted, but cautious; and with a mixture of pride and politeness in his manners, he particularly adapted himself to his official purposes by occasionally altering the proportion of each, as persons or circumstances required their application. With an excellent, prepossessing countenance, he gained wonderfully upon every gentleman with whom he associated*. The period of Lord Westmorland's

* The Board of Green Cloth (the Lord Lieutenant's second table), never was supported with more splendor than during Lord Westmorland's Government. It was, at least, as good as his own—the class of society the same—the conviviality superior. *Economy* had not crept into *that* department, and every shilling that was granted on that establishment was expended upon it.

Major Hobart saved nothing in Ireland; he expended in the metropolis every shilling he received; and the entire of the grants (however large), then made by the Irish Parliament to support the Vice-regal establishment, was actually laid out on it, and the citizens of Dublin, in fact, reaped the profits of their taxation.

Government was certainly the summit of Irish prosperity. From his departure she may date her downfall. Lord Westmorland's was charged with being a jobbing Government, but it was far less so than that of any of his predecessors; or if he did not diminish he certainly did not aggravate the burthens of the people.

When Lord Westmorland arrived, Ireland was in a state of great prosperity. He met a strong opposition in Parliament, but it was an honest opposition—the guardian of public liberty, and not a faction. It was constitutional in principle, and formidable in talent; it was rather a party to effect wholesome measures, than a systematic opposition to the Government. Only two subjects of vital importance were introduced during his administration; most of the others being plausible demands, calculated rather to gratify the people, than to produce any radical change in the system of the Government. A Place Bill, a Pension Bill, and a Responsibility Bill, an inquiry into the sale of Peerages, and into the Police of Dublin, were amongst the most material measures of his viceroyalty. The Place Bill, however, eventually became the most important that had ever been passed by the Irish Parliament.

The perseverance of the able men who formed the opposition, at length gave a pretence to the Minister to purchase an armistice, by conceding some of the measures they had so long and pertinaciously resisted.

It could not have been flattering, however, to the supporters of Government, to be required by the Secretary to change their conduct without a change of circumstances, and to recant opinions they had so frequently declared in obedience to the Court.

Some of the most active supporters of Government, therefore, deter-

mined not to interfere in these concessions, and the Opposition, on the other hand, was so keen at the chase, and so gratified at the concession of their long-sought measures, that they but superficially regarded the mode of conceding, and never reflected, as statesmen, that one of those measures might prove a deadly weapon, by which the executive Government might destroy the Parliament under pretence of purifying it. A Bill was brought in to vacate the seats of members accepting offices under Government.

The Opposition, blinded by their honest zeal, considered this ruinous Bill a species of reform, and were astonished at the concession of a measure at once so popular, and so destructive of ministerial corruption. The sagacity of Mr. Pitt, however, clearly showed him, that the Bill would put the Irish Parliament eventually into his hands: the sequel proved, that, without that Bill, the corruption by the Ministers, the rebellion, force, and terror combined, could not have effected the Union.

The Place, Pension, and Responsibility Bills, were proposed by Mr. Grattan, acceded to by the Viceroy, passed into laws, and considered as a triumph of the Opposition over the venality of the Government*.

Mr. Grattan was the most consistent, and certainly the most incorrupt public character on the records of the Irish Parliament. He worshipped

* The Author was requested by Government to give his assent, in the House, to the Place Bill; but he had, at their original request, as well as on his own opinion, for some years opposed it: he therefore refused, and stood nearly alone in his opposition. He saw its despotic operation, and he also objected, that the qualification clause was by no means adapted to Ireland. Mr. Grattan acquiesced in the objection, with these remarkable words:—"I submit to that "objection: I should be inconsistent if I did not. Had this qualification been required when I "first came into Parliament, I should not have had the honour of addressing this assembly."

popularity; but there was a tinge of aristocracy in his devotion, which, whilst it qualified its enthusiasm, rendered it the more pure.

Such men may occasionally err in judgment, or may be misled by their ardour; and this was the case with Mr. Grattan, on this armistice with the Government.

Mr. Grattan did not always foresee the remote operation of his projects.

He was little adapted to labour on the details of measures; he had laid the broad foundation of the constitution, but sometimes regarded lightly the out-buildings that were occasionally attached to it. On this occasion, the Ministers were too subtle for him, and he heeded not that fatal clause which made no distinction between real and nominal offices. He considered not, that though offices of real emolument could not be so frequently vacated and transferred, as to give the Minister any very important advantage, those of nominal value might be daily given and resigned, without observation, and that thereby the Minister might pack the House of Commons at his pleasure*.

By comparing the Irish Parliament at the epochs of the Proposition and the Regency Bills, and at that of 1800, the fatal operation of the

* There are four nominal offices in Ireland—the Escheatorships of Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Ulster, which are absolute: their emoluments are 30*s.* *per annum.* By means of these offices, Lord Castlereagh packed the parliament in 1800.

The Chiltern Hundreds in England are of the same nature; but the large number of the British Commons renders any thing like packing Parliament for occasional purposes, by that means, impossible. Nor durst a British Minister practise that artifice, except to a very limited extent.

Place Bill can be no longer questionable. In one word—it carried the Union*.

During the administration of Lord Westmorland, the first question (which so deeply affected the subsequent events of Ireland) was the partial Emancipation of the Irish Catholics. Though the question did not, when introduced, appear to involve the consideration of a legislative union, its results communicated a powerful influence to that measure.

The national annihilation of Ireland was, in a considerable degree, promoted by the impolitic mismanagement of the Catholic population.

Though many of the penal and restrictive statutes, by which the Catholics had been so long excluded from all the most valuable rights, not only of British subjects, but of freemen, were repealed; and though the power of taking freeholds, and possessing landed property, was restored to them, these concessions were but a stimulus to further claims, and for which they created a most rational expectation.

The Catholics argued, that if they were allowed to purchase freeholds, and to receive, by descent, lands in fee, it must consequently be an injustice, an absurdity, and an insult, to debar them from the elective franchise, and the privileges which were by law attached to the possession of the same species of property by their Protestant fellow-subjects.

They said, that Noblemen and Commoners, of great fortune, of their persuasion, who had been deprived of their rights by their attachment to hereditary monarchy, notwithstanding those partial concessions, still remained loaded with many attributes of actual slavery, in the midst of a free people; that after a century of loyal and peaceable demeanour

* See the fac-simile of Mr. Crow's Letter to Lord Belvidere, Part III.

towards a Protestant dynasty, they were still to be stigmatised, as neither trustworthy nor loyal. Their language, though firm and decided, was rational, and proved successful. Government were now alarmed, and affected to take a liberal view of the subject; but were by no means unanimous as to the extent of the concessions. They conceived that tranquillity was promoted by religious toleration. This may be true, where but a small portion of the people are the claimants: far different, however, is it where they form the bulk, and the exclusionists a small minority, of the people. However, through the invariable policy of Mr. Pitt, the Catholics ultimately obtained all they then required. The concessions were most important, and greater than could have been credible before Lord Westmorland's administration. The Elective Franchise was the act more of his Government than of himself. The Forty-Shilling Franchise was then granted to the poorest, most illiterate, and most dependent peasantry of Europe, who might one day be influenced by one motive, and the next by its reverse. Strong doubts were, and may still fairly be, entertained, as to the wisdom of this extraordinary measure*.

* Mr. O'Connell (the most earnest and able advocate for the general emancipation of the Catholics), and many of his friends, seem to have been of this opinion, or they never could have agreed to surrender to Parliament the franchise of the people, to obtain privileges for their aristocracy. They must be allowed to have acted on a fair conviction of its expediency, as it is impossible to suppose they would have given up a constitutional right, vested in fifty or sixty thousand of their sect, merely to forward the objects or the ambition of two or three dozen individuals of the highest order. Any person who has been present at a Mayo or Galway election, would see plainly that forty-shilling freeholders (as they are called) are but the wretched, half-starved, and ignorant tools of great interests, who use or dispose of them like beasts, and that their only acquirement by their franchise is an additional badge of slavery.

The first important debates, on granting the elective franchise to Irish papists, were in 1792, on a petition, presented in their favour, by Mr. Egan. It was then looked upon as a most daring step, and Mr. Latouche moved to reject the petition without entering on its merits.

The prejudice against the Catholics was then so powerful, that their petition was rejected, with indignation, by a division of 208 to 23*.

The West Indian Slave Question, in the English Parliament, nearly resembled the Irish Emancipation Act, with this distinction, that the Abolition Act was, in England, the gradual work of many Parliaments—the Concession Act, in Ireland, was rapidly effected by the inconsistency of one.

The Legislature, however, by granting the Elective Franchise to the Irish Catholics, conceded to them the very essence of the British Constitution.

* The Government, by this majority, wished to render similar applications hopeless; but, a few months after, the measure was recommended from the Throne, and supported by Government, and was carried in the same House by a large majority. The disgusting proceedings of the Irish Parliament, on this subject, may be accounted for, by the dread of a restitution to the Catholics, should they be admitted to power, of forfeited estates, held by Peers and Commoners, by grants of Elizabeth, Cromwell, and William, and confirmed by the Act of Settlement.

For the *same reason*, English Judges frequently, and English Chancellors *always*, were sent over to Ireland, and the Appellant's jurisdiction from Irish Courts of Justice was sedulously preserved to the English House of Peers, as the only mode of preserving either their estates, or securing their mortgages. The Irish Revolution of 1782, and the Renunciation Act by England, restored appeals to the Irish Peers, where they remained till the Union. The appointment of *English* Chancellors has continued; and, *except* in *one* instance, they have proved themselves *admirable lawyers*, and of great service to the profession, and advantage to the country.

The power of electing the representatives, and not the qualification of the elected, is the substantial foundation of constitutional liberty. Nothing can prove the fallacy of the distinction more clearly than that the Qualification Act of England virtually places a Protestant, if he do not possess a certain property, upon the same footing, in point of ineligibility to Parliament, with a non-juring Papist. Nothing stands in the way of either but his conscience, which is not always found an invincible obstacle. It is too notorious to conceal, that persons have not unfrequently sworn to a possession of the freehold qualification, though they had only borrowed or hired it for the swearing day, and re-conveyed it next morning. The law, whilst it granted to Catholics the right to elect their representatives, also gave his Holiness the power of qualifying the candidates. A Catholic conformist might be qualified, through his absolution (as well as the Protestant by his equivocation), and each might die with an eased conscience in the faith of his forefathers*.

If a landed proprietor can lend a qualification for a day to a Protestant to swear by, the Pope, by official omnipotence, could lend a bull to a Roman Catholic candidate, or a plenary indulgence, for the same object. The Protestant swearer, however, must answer for his oath in the other world, whilst the Romish recanter receives his pardon before he goes out of this.

Another circumstance rendered the distinction still more curious. The Protestant must swear to the actual possession of substantial property,

* Evasion in swearing is scarcely less criminal than falsehood; and, if the Protestant re-convey his qualification, he is perjured; and if he do not, he is a robber.

but the abjuration by a Catholic only denied the supposed power in the representative of St. Peter. None but the swearer himself could determine his veracity, and no person could be an informer.

Considering the subject as a mere political question, the concession of the elective franchise, and prescribing the outward profession of the delegate, either went too far, or not far enough. It required, at least, a good deal of sophistry to prove, that the Constitution would be more entangled by conceding to the latter than to the former.

It was deemed legal in the King, with reference to his Coronation Oath, to grant the full exercise of constitutional right to fifty or sixty thousand popish *electors*, without requiring from them any oath of papal abjuration—but it was held a breach of that Oath to assent to an act which passed both Houses, to dispense with the same Oath from the representative.

Mr. Pitt's system in Ireland solves the enigma, that the virulent enemies of the Catholics, who opposed the slightest concession, should directly after vote them the elective franchise; a concession which they never expected. Mr. Pitt's object was to reciprocally exasperate the two sects. The indignant rejection of the Petition of 1792, inflamed the Catholic with resentment, and the Protestant with triumph. The concession of 1793 reversed these passions; and both sects felt equally disgusted with the Legislature. The Minister took every advantage of the unpopularity of the Parliament.

A very remarkable incident occurred in the House of Lords upon this occasion. Lord Clare, the most unqualified enemy the Catholics ever had, and the most virulent against them, on the debate in 1793 voted

for giving them the elective franchise, which he had asserted would be a breach of the Coronation Oath, and destructive to the Church and State ;— On the other hand, Lord Charlemont, always the most zealous friend of the Irish people, and the most distinguished of the gentle breed of patriots, on the same debate, spoke much in favour of the Catholics, yet voted decidedly against any concession whatsoever.

Lord Clare wished to do mischief on Mr. Pitt's system, even at his own expense. Lord Charlemont wished to do good, but was too shallow to see the deep designs of the Chancellor, and had too fair a mind to mix policy with his candour*.

As the opponents of the Catholics rallied round the Coronation Oath, their friends argued, that no oath could prevent his Majesty giving his assent to any Bill passed by the two Houses of Parliament—that the right of negative in the crown was solely meant to protect its prerogatives ; and the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Chancellor, the keepers of the King's conscience, had so construed the Oath when they advised the royal assent to the concession of the elective franchise. The breach of an oath was not a thing of degree ; and if sixty thousand Catholic peasants could be

* The ablest and wisest of the Catholic leaders, Mr. Keaugh, possessed a very strong intellect, and had more intelligence and more influence with that body than any man of that persuasion—he was a leader at all their early meetings, and of very great use in forwarding their measures. After their attainment of the elective franchise, he still urged their claims with talent, vigour, and perseverance—his secession from active life was a great loss to the cause. Doctor Duigenan conceived the most inveterate hatred to Mr. Keaugh, to whom he had never spoken—he seldom rose in Parliament without abusing him—always pronouncing his name in a most ridiculous guttural dialect, " *One Kughch.*"

admitted to the right of voting, it was inconsistent to prevent Catholic gentlemen receiving such votes as candidates. It was more inconsistent to grant this franchise to the Catholic Irish, and withhold it from the Catholics of England. The Magna Charta and Bill of Rights were the substance of the Constitution, and how often had they been infringed, in despite of the Coronation Oath to defend them. The concession of the franchise proved, that claims might be yielded to the Catholics, to the extent of not endangering the Constitution; and that withholding the franchise from the English Catholics, argued either a sense of danger, or established the fact—that the Coronation Oath had one meaning in Ireland and another in England;—or did concession depend, not upon the Oath, but upon the strength and number of the claimants?

Though Lord Westmorland was powerfully opposed in Parliament, during the whole of his government, he was zealously supported by the friends of his administration. Had he not been recalled (as it was erroneously supposed), to make way for a general pacification, the nation had no reason to suppose his place could be much better filled. His recall, and the appointment and deprivation of Lord Fitzwilliam, his successor, within three months, completed the train which Mr. Pitt had laid for the explosion. Having divided the country, and obtained the means of packing the Parliament, he suffered some men to disseminate the French revolutionary mania, and encouraged others to raise their loyalty into the region of madness.

Lord Westmorland had not completed the usual term of residence, nor had he failed in his duties; and his appearing not to feel hurt at his abrupt recall was mysterious, and seemed to forebode some important

movement. The appointment of Lord Fitzwilliam who had previously opposed the administration, was, perhaps, the most deep and treacherous design ever contemplated by any minister. But Mr. Pitt had never been in Ireland, and he experienced difficulties he did not anticipate ;—he fancied he might excite and suppress commotion at his convenience ; but, in deciding upon forcing a premature insurrection for a particular object, he did not calculate on the torrent of blood that would be shed, and the inveterate hatred that might be perpetuated against the British Government. His resolution was taken, and he prevailed upon one of the most pure and respected of the whig leaders to become Viceroy of Ireland, under a supposition that he was selected to tranquillize and to foster that country. The minister wanted only a high-minded victim, as an instrument to agitate the Irish. His Lordship had great estates in Ireland—was one of its most kind and indulgent landlords—and was extremely popular. His manners were, perhaps, too mild, but he had enlarged principles of political liberty and of religious toleration. Mr. Pitt had assured him he should have the gratification of emancipating the Irish Catholics. Lord Fitzwilliam accepted the office only on that consideration, and with this entire conviction he repaired to Dublin, to carry into immediate execution what he conceived would for ever tranquillize that country. Mr. Pitt intended to inflame the country—throw upon the Viceroy the insinuation of disobedience—and openly charge him with a precipitancy, of which he himself was the real author.

Never was a scheme conducted with more address and secrecy. Lord Fitzwilliam was received with open arms by the people—he immediately commenced his arrangements—and Mr. Pitt began as closely

to counteract them;—in every act of his government, Lord Fitzwilliam was circumvented.

Mr. Pitt thus raised the Catholics to the height of expectation, and, by suddenly deceiving them, and recalling the Viceroy, he inflamed them to the degree of generating the commotions he meditated, and which would throw the Protestants into the arms of England for protection, whilst the horrors would be aggravated, by the conflicts of the royalists and republicans.

By this measure, Mr. Pitt had the gratification of humbling Earl Fitzwilliam—disgracing the Whigs—overwhelming the Opposition —turning the Irish into fanatics—and thereby of preparing the gentry of that country for the project that was to succeed it.

The conduct of the Duke of Portland must have been either culpable or imbecile—he must either have betrayed Lord Fitzwilliam to Mr. Pitt, or Mr. Pitt must have made him a blind instrument of treachery to his friend:—the first is most probable, as he remained in office after his friend had been disgraced, and aided in the project which was effected by that treachery*.

The day Lord Fitzwilliam arrived, peace was proclaimed throughout Ireland. From the day he quitted it, she prepared for insurrection.

The Beresfords and the Ponsonbys were arrayed against each other—and, in one week more, the Beresfords would have been prostrate —Mr. Pitt, however, terminated the question, by dethroning Lord

* The whole of this most deep of Mr. Pitt's projects, as to Ireland, appears detailed in Lord Fitzwilliam's two letters to Lord Carlisle—an unvarnished history of facts.

Fitzwilliam — the Whigs were defeated — and Ireland was surrendered at discretion to Lord Clare and his connection. Within three months after Lord Fitzwilliam's dismissal, Lord Clare had got the nation into a full training for military execution.

The arrival of Lord Camden to succeed Earl Fitzwilliam was attended by almost insurrectionary outrage. The Beresfords were the ostensible cause of the people's favourite being overthrown: on that family, therefore, they conceived they should signalize their vengeance; and their determination was nearly carried into execution.

The Chancellor, in his carriage, was assailed; he received the blow of a stone on his forehead, which, with somewhat more force, would have rid the people of their enemy. His house was attacked; the populace were determined to destroy him, and were proceeding to execute their intentions. At that moment their rage was, most fortunately, diverted by the address of his sister, Mrs. Jeffries, who, unknown and at great risk, had mingled in the crowd:—she misled them as to the place of his concealment. Disappointed of their object they then attacked the Custom House, where Mr. Beresford's first commissioner of the revenue resided. Mr. Foster's house was attacked: he had opposed the Catholics, and was supposed to be unfriendly to Lord Fitzwilliam; and but for a prompt interference of the military, dreadful results were with reason apprehended.

Such was the inauspicious beginning of Lord Camden's Government. But, from the day of his arrival, the spirit of insurrection hourly increased, and, in a short period, during his Lordship's Government, more blood was shed, as much of outrage and cruelty was perpetrated on both sides, and as many military executions took place, as in any years during the

tyranny of Elizabeth, or the usurpations, in Ireland, of Cromwell or King William*.

The conspiracy of united Irishmen—never profoundly secret—soon became public; but the extent of its objects was unknown, and the civil arrangements and military organization far exceeded those of any association in modern history. Constituents knew not their representatives, and rebel soldiers knew not by whom they were to be commanded. The members of their executive Directory were utterly unknown to some hundred thousand men, who had sworn obedience to their orders. Mr. Pitt found the conspiracy becoming rather too extensive for his purposes;—for a moment he felt he might possibly get out of his depth, and he conceived a necessity of forcing a premature explosion, by which he might excite sufficient horrors throughout the country to serve his purpose, and be able to suppress the conspiracy, which might be beyond his power should it arrive at its maturity.

Lord Camden was an excellent man, and, in ordinary times, would have been an acquisition to the country; but he was made an instrument in the hands of Mr. Pitt.

Earl Camden was of a high mind, and of unblemished reputation:

* Be it understood that I have all through considered, and still consider William the Third an usurper in *Ireland*, until the flight of James, and the Articles of Limerick, capitulated for the whole nation; *after* that, he was king *de facto*—perhaps, by *conquest:* at all events, it was a decided revolution. And it should be recollected that the Irish people, *after* that capitulation, never did rise or rebel against his government, or that of his successors, as they did in Scotland twice, and partially in England.

The rebellion of 1798 was excited by totally different causes.

his principles were good, but his talent was not eminent;—he always intended right, but was repeatedly led to do wrong;—he wished to govern with moderation, but he was driven by his council into most violent proceedings;—he submitted to a Secret Committee of Lords, who, as Inquisitors, calumniated some of the purest characters in the kingdom*.—To the dictum of Lord Clare he seldom enjoyed a power of resistance.

His Lordship became extremely popular amongst the armed associations which were raised in Ireland under the title of Yeomen. He was considered the guardian of that most useful institution. He was humane, but his counsellors were unfeeling;—mild, but his advisers were ferocious. He did all the justice he was permitted to do; and a single ungentlemanly act of his own, during his residence in Ireland, never was complained of. His Secretary, Earl Chichester (Mr. Pelham), held up the reputation of the Government to its proper standard. Without great talents, he had good sense, good manners, a frank address, with humane, honourable, and just intentions; but, at a critical moment, he was obliged to return to England for his health, and Lord Camden filled up his vacancy by his nephew. This relative became one of the most celebrated persons of his day, and is the principal hero in the sequel of these Historical Anecdotes—he proved himself a most destructive minister to the finances and character of the British Empire. However, with all these good qualities as Viceroy, Lord

* Amongst others, at the Secret Committee, Lord Clare examined a man of the name of Hughes, to implicate Mr. Grattan with the United Irishmen. He got his portrait torn down from the University and the Corporation Hall. Hughes turned out to be a perjured, if not a suborned witness; and Mr. Grattan was elected Member by that Corporation which had attempted to disgrace him.

Camden's Government was the most ruinous, and most unfortunate, that Ireland ever experienced.

Lord Clare and his connections, intoxicated by their victory over the late Viceroy, set no bounds to their triumph; they treated the people as their vassals, the country as their demesne, and its patronage as their private property.

On a review of the state of Ireland at that period, it must be obvious to every deliberate observer, that the design of Mr. Pitt, to effect some mysterious measure in Ireland, was now, through the unaccountable conduct of the Irish Government, beginning to develop itself. The seeds of insurrection, which had manifested themselves in Scotland and in England, were, by the vigour and promptitude of the British Government, rapidly crushed. But different was it in Ireland, though it appeared, from public documents, that Government had full and accurate information of the Irish United Societies: their leaders and chiefs were publicly known to the British Ministry*. At the same period, and by the same means that England and Scotland were tranquillized, so might have been Ireland.

Mr. Pitt, however, well knew, that the loss of America had sunk deeply into the royal mind, and that, from the moment the Renunciation Bill had been passed, his Majesty wished for any favourable opportunity of repealing it. The Union was the remedy, and discord was the element of union.

Mr. Pitt, however, found he had temporized to the extremity of

* See the Reports of the Secret Committees of the Lords and Commons, published by Parliament, both in England and Ireland. Lord Melville had obtained and published prints of the different pikes manufactured in Scotland, long before that weapon had been manufactured by the Irish peasantry.

prudence; the disaffected had not yet appeared as a collected army*, but a succession of partial outrages convinced him that prompt and decisive measures became absolutely indispensable. The Earl of Carhampton, Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, first expressed his dissatisfaction at Mr. Pitt's inexplicable proceedings. His Lordship had but little military experience, but he was a man of the world, of courage, and decision, ardent, and obstinate†;—he determined, right or wrong, to annihilate the conspiracy. Without the consent of the Irish Government, he commanded the troops, that, on all symptoms of insurrectionary movements, they should act without waiting for the presence of any civil power. Martial law had not then been proclaimed. He went, therefore, a length which could not possibly be supported: his orders were countermanded by the Lord Lieutenant; but he refused to obey the Viceroy, who had no rank in the army.

* See the Debates of 1799 and 1800, in Ireland, where the whole of that system was fully developed.

† Colonel Luttrell was very notorious in England as the opponent of Mr. Wilkes, and the instrument of the Minister and Lord Mansfield, at the memorable election for Middlesex. He had great readiness of wit, and but few qualms of any description to turn him from his objects. His person was not common, very short, and what is termed tight made. He was an active, intelligent man; his countenance singularly dark; an eye of fire, and, though very expressive, yet not indicative either of vice or virtue, though he had some of both sorts, particularly the first of them. He very shortly before his death called into notice, in Parliament, Lord Castlereagh and Messrs. Rundell's diamond snuff-boxes, for the gentry at Vienna. In Ireland he neither supported nor opposed the Union, personally, in Parliament: but he was entirely its enemy; and when he was sure it would be persevered in, he sold all his hereditary fortune near Dublin, and became a total absentee.

Lord Carhampton found that the troops in the garrison of Dublin were daily corrupted by the United Irishmen; he therefore withdrew them, and formed two distinct camps on the south and north, some miles from the capital, and thereby, as he conceived, prevented all intercourse of the army with the disaffected of the metropolis. Both measures were disapproved of by the Lord Lieutenant, whom Lord Carhampton again refused to obey.

The King's sign-manual was at length procured, ordering him to break up his camps, and bring back the garrison: this he obeyed, and marched the troops into Dublin barracks. He then resigned his command, and publicly declared, that some deep and insidious scheme of the Minister was in agitation; for, instead of suppressing, the Irish Government was obviously disposed to excite an insurrection.

Mr. Pitt counted on the expertness of the Irish Government to effect a premature explosion. Free Quarters* were now ordered upon the Irish population; SLOW TORTURES were inflicted, under the pretence of forcing confessions:—the people were driven to madness.

General Abercromby, who succeeded as Commander-in-Chief, was not permitted to abate these enormities, and therefore resigned with disgust†.

* *Free Quarters*, fortunately, is a term not practically known in England; in Ireland they were resorted to as a goad to rebellion, before it was sufficiently matured to be effectual. Free Quarters render officers and soldiers despotic masters of the peasantry, their houses, food, property, and, occasionally, their *families*. This measure was resorted to, with all its attendant horrors, throughout some of the best parts of Ireland, previous to the insurrection.

† General Abercromby, in general orders, stated, that the army placed under his command, from their state of disorganization, would soon be much more formidable to their friends than to their enemies; and that he would not countenance or admit Free Quarters.

Ireland was reduced to a state of anarchy, and exposed to crime and cruelties to which no nation had ever been subject. The people could no longer bear their miseries. Mr. Pitt's object was now effected.

These sanguinary transactions will, in the opinion of posterity, be placed to the account of those who might have prevented them. The success of the illiterate insurgents at the commencement, nearly confirmed them in the idea of their cause being divine: they were led to hope, that, by their numbers, impetuosity, and perseverance, they could obtain their liberation from an oppressive Government and a tyrannical aristocracy. The ignorance, or indiscretion, of many of the king's officers who had encountered them, excited their contempt; while their own natural habits and instinctive tact led them to a system of ambuscade and stratagem, which, in many instances, proved disastrous to the king's forces. The pike, at the commencement, very frequently succeeded against the regular, and always against the yeoman cavalry; and, in close combat with even the infantry, it proved, in some instances, irresistible*.

Almost all countries possess some national weapon, in the use of which

* The extreme expertness with which the Irish handled the pike was surprising; by withdrawing they could shorten it to little more than the length of a dagger, and, in a second, dart it out to its full extent. At Old Kilcullin, they entirely repulsed General Dundas, and the heavy cavalry, in a regular charge, killing two captains and many soldiers: the General escaped, with great difficulty, by the fleetness of his horse. At New Ross, they entirely broke the heavy horse by their pikes. A solid mass, or deep column of determined pikemen, could only be broken by artillery, or a heavy fire of musquetry: well-served artillery they could not withstand, if not close enough to be rushed upon. Colonel Foot's detachment of infantry was nearly annihilated by the pike at Oulart; only the major and two others escaped.

the inhabitants are more expert than at any other; and their superiority at which is evinced in every insurrection. The Highland broad sword and target, in the rebellions of Scotland, were eminently successful; the Polish lances, the American rifle, and the Indian tomahawk, were often as successful against regular troops.

Wexford, though so near the metropolis, is not a frequented county, as it is not a direct thoroughfare to any other part of the kingdom: the towns of Gorey, Arklow, and Wicklow intervene between Wexford and Dublin. The king's troops were in possession of Arklow and the country to the metropolis through Wicklow. They interrupted the rebel communication between Wexford and the Wicklow mountains; and, on that side, left the Wexford insurgents almost isolated in their original position*. The reckless ferocity, so natural to men resisting oppression, here had full scope for its terrific development. The peasantry of that county were, in a great proportion, of English descent; they had been taught that it was right to separate themselves from England; and they were filled with that dreadful doctrine, that, "if the object be good, the means are immaterial."

Upon this doctrine, however, many of the higher orders had unequivocally acted†. A portion of the gentry of the county of Wexford were

* In the interior of the county, the rebels had many strong positions; and, on the south side, the town of New Ross was the only impediment to their making themselves masters of Waterford, where they were certain of being immediately joined by the Munster insurgents, particularly by the Waterford and Tipperary men, the most numerous and efficient in the kingdom; and this possession of New Ross gave rise to one of the most bloody and most protracted battles ever fought in Ireland.

† See the Acts of the Irish Government on the Union, in 1799 and 1800.

boisterous, over-bearing, and devoid of judgment*; their Christian principles were merged in their Protestant ascendancy, and they appeared not less blinded by bigotry than the Catholics by fanaticism: though neither party could give one rational reason for the implacability of their hatred. The frenzy of an exterminating principle seemed to have taken root amongst the Wexford gentry; and they acted under the impression, that burning every cottage, and torturing every cottager, were a meritorious proof of their faith and loyalty. Great and most unwarrantable excesses had been practised by some of the Protestant gentry on the lower orders: some of them were nearly as savage, and certainly as sanguinary, as the most vicious of the rebels†. Those men committed their loyal brutalities without calculating that a single victory might enable the insurgents to retaliate.

No History of the Irish Rebellion of 1798, yet published, contains any thing like an impartial or adequate delineation of that dreadful conflict‡.

* Mr. Colclough was deliberately shot dead by his opposing candidate, during the election, without any individual hostility between them, in the presence of a great proportion of the country gentlemen, and (I have heard) of ten or twelve magistrates, who stood by as amateur spectators of so bloody a transaction. This illustrates how factious rage may tyrannise over humanity, and even the intellect of partisans. What could be expected from an ignorant peasantry, at the mercy of such magistrates? What an example had they to follow!

† America was saved from such horrors by her distance. The Americans were certainly more intrinsically rebels than the Irish. The Greeks and Turks are a noble example of the exterminating principle which was practised in the county of Wexford, during this tremendous campaign of every barbarity.

‡ The publication by Sir Richard Musgrave is the work of a credulous fanatic; and Lord

The conduct of the Wexford gentry was held out, by rebel leaders, to the inflamed population, as a system to be retaliated; nor is it possible to deny, that natural, if not municipal justice, gave some colour to that sanguinary doctrine. The lower orders, uninstructed in the distinction between the rights of Government and the mad excesses of the bigoted gentry or tyrannical functionaries, naturally mistook retaliation for justice, and followed exactly the course of devastation which had been inflicted upon themselves. The mansions of the gentry experienced the same fate which the gentry had inflicted on the cottages. The insurgents considered every Protestant a tyrant; the Protestants proclaimed every Catholic a rebel: reason was banished, mercy was denounced, and the reciprocal thirst for blood became insatiable*.

Cornwallis refused to receive Sir Richard's dedication. But the author soon had a most ample consolation, in a very *lucrative* and *important* office in the *revenue* of Ireland, given to him by the *same* Lord Cornwallis, who had likewise stigmatized him as a *fire-brand.* Mr. Gordon's Narrative has more of truth and rationality: but is feeble, and unworthy of the subject. A very able person (not an Irishman) once observed, that only an *atheist* was likely to give an impartial history of the Irish Insurrection.

* It is melancholy to reflect that, after nearly thirty years, when most of the parties are in their graves, the *same* passions remain unextinguished. What *was* individual has now become *hereditary;* and proclaims, trumpet-tongued, either that the system of Government has been fundamentally wrong, or that the two countries are utterly uncongenial: there is no third position. Every friend to the empire must hope that it is the first, because it may be amended; and every enemy, that it is the second, because its results would be indefinite.

CHAPTER XI.

Commencement of Hostilities—Number of the Rebels—Their Want of Discipline, Officers, Cavalry, and Artillery—Their Valour and Perseverance—Projected Attack on the Metropolis—Measures of Defence—Night Scene in Smithfield—Patrolling Dark Streets—Lord Roden's Attack on the Rebels—Disgusting Scenes before the Castle Windows—Brutal Executions on the Lamp Posts—Unnecessary Cruelty—Excess of Sanguinary Vengeance—Martial Law proclaimed—State of Dublin—Conflicts in the Counties of Kildare and Dublin—Massacre at Prosperous—Conflicts in the County of Wexford—Gallantry of Captain Hay—Defeat of Major Foot, of Colonel Walpole, and of General Fawcett—Gallantry of the Rebels towards Females—Ferocity of the German Regiments towards them—General Dundas—The Heavy Cavalry defeated by the Pikemen—The Execution of J. and H. Sheares—Armstrong and Reynolds the Informers—Affecting Letter of H. Sheares—Lord Clare's Mercy—Scene at Newgate—Battles of Gorey, Arklow, Ross, Enniscorthy, or Vinegar Hill—Attack on Arklow—Troops sent from Dublin in Carriages—Extremity of Danger—Colonel Skerritt—Battle of Ross—Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey—Conflagration of the Town—The Rebels led by a Boy of Thirteen—Alternate Success—Horrible Scene of Slaughter—The Rebel Entrenchments on Vinegar Hill—Fury of the Women—Excitement of the Priests—Cannonade—Slaughter—The Rebels' Retreat—The Torture—Murder of Sir W. Crooly and Mr. Grogan—Recall of Lord Camden—Appointment of Lord Cornwallis—Continuation of Lord Castlereagh in Office—Landing of the French in Killala Bay—Battle of Castlebar—Surrender of the French—Defeat of the Rebels at Killala—Armistice—Its Object and Consequences.

ACTUAL hostilities commenced by skirmishes round the City of Dublin, and several simultaneous attacks were made by the rebels, upon various posts and garrisons, with surprising pertinacity. They had neither officers

nor discipline; their plans, therefore, though acutely devised, could have no certainty of regular or punctual execution; yet a masterly system of tactics, of combinations, and of offensive warfare, had been orginally determined upon. Though these, in a great measure, had been frustrated by the death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and the arrest of the Directory, they were executed sufficiently to prove the foundation of a ruinous resistance to the Government.

The number of the rebels is utterly impossible to be stated with accuracy. There existed in Ireland at least 1,250,000 effective men at arms, who, from the smallness of the island, could be collected and marshalled in a week throughout the entire kingdom*.

The rebels were totally unpaid—many of them nearly unclothed—few of them well armed—all of them undisciplined, with scarcely any artillery —no cavalry—their powder and ammunition mostly prepared by themselves —no tents, or covering—no money—no certainty of provisions—obedience to their chiefs, and adherence to their cause were altogether voluntary. Under these circumstances, their condition must have been precarious, and their numbers variable. No one leader amongst them had sufficient power to control or counteract their propensities, yet they fought with wonderful perseverance, address, and intrepidity†.

* Some of the rebel-returns stated that above four hundred thousand men had been sworn, and privately drilled, but little faith can be placed in any document on the subject. Had the cause succeeded, the numbers would have been even greater. In 1782, above one hundred thousand volunteers were well clothed, armed, and disciplined, and about fifty thousand more, of an inferior description, were assembled.

† One of the insurgents in the Town of Wexford, with whom I was well acquainted,

A night attack on the metropolis had been long meditated by the united Irishmen, but its early execution had not been anticipated by the Government. The Lord Lieutenant ascertained that such an attempt was to be made on the 23rd of May, 1798, by a large body of insurgents, then collecting on the north of Swords and Santry, and on the south under the Rathfarnham mountains, less than five miles from the city. Of their numbers, leaders, arms, or tactics, every body was ignorant—all

gave me much information, and a great insight into the transactions of that County. He was a rational man, and disgusted with both parties—he would have been neutral, but neutrality was impossible; and Mr. Taylor, a Royalist, and a man of truth and integrity, whom the rebels, on pain of death, had forced to print their proclamation, gave me many of their documents, and a great deal of intelligence. I collected, on all hands, that, on the first rising, there were not five thousand rebels to attack the town of Wexford; but that the King's troops having evacuated the place, with a considerable force, and without any effort to defend it, and being harassed on their retreat, this first and most important success had its immediate effect, and before noon the next day more than twenty thousand Wexford rebels had flocked to their standards, and they hourly increased in number, while success was possible. At the battle of New Ross I was assured that Bagenal Harvey had thirty thousand—at the battle of Arklow there were more than twenty; and, as the most unequivocal proof of their formidable numbers, at the engagement of Vinegar Hill, General Lake did not think it advisable to attack them with less than twenty thousand regular troops and a considerable artillery. Cavalry and mortars were brought to force their line, and even against such an attack they made a long and desperate resistance, and retreated from that large and disciplined army with very little (comparative) loss.

I had every reason to believe (and I omitted no means of ascertaining the reality), that above thirty-five thousand rebels had risen in the county of Wexford alone. This species of computation may, therefore, be indulged in as theory, certainly not as a true criterion. Wexford is only one of thirty-two counties, by no means the most populous, and far from the most extensive. Had the rising been general, the northern counties might have furnished as

was confusion, and every report was extravagantly exaggerated. The regular garrison, and the yeomanry, prepared themselves with the utmost animation, but nobody knew his station, or could ascertain his duty. Orders were issued, and immediately revoked—positions were assigned and countermanded—more confused, indecisive, and unintelligible arrangements of a military nature never appeared.

No probable point of attack was signified, and the only principle of defence appeared to be comprised in one sentence, "every man for himself, "and God for us all." Lord Clare appeared the most busy and active, as far as his tongue extended. Confidence and bravery were recommended in all quarters; but a very serious uneasiness was perceptible throughout the metropolis; his Lordship's activity was confined to the council chamber, and to the upper court of the castle*.

many, the southern counties more, and the midland less than Wexford. A rough (but no doubt uncertain average), may be drawn from these data, as to what the possible or probable amount of insurgents might have been, throughout the entire kingdom, if the struggle had been protracted. Enough, at least, will be ascertained, to prove that the rebellion never should have been permitted to arrive at that dangerous maturity. It is equally clear, that had the rebels possessed arms, officers, and discipline, their numbers would soon have rendered them masters of the kingdom, in which there exists not one fortress capable of resisting a twenty-four hours' investment.

* As night approached, orders were given that the yeomen, cavalry and infantry, should occupy Smithfield, which was, at length, considered as the probable point of attack from Santry, where the rebels were reported to have collected in the greatest numbers. The yeomen, nearly eight hundred attorneys, horse and foot, turned out gallantly. Their infantry was effective, and their cavalry excellent. The gradations of their discipline and enthusiasm were, however, extremely amusing; those who had imbibed their full quantum of generous fluids were the most fierce and

The cavalry and infantry in Smithfield were, in some places, so compactly interwoven, that a dragoon could not wield his sword without cutting down a foot soldier; nor a foot soldier discharge his musket without knocking

enthusiastic troops in the service of His Majesty; others, who had dined on solid and substantial matters, having no artificial stimulus, were as steady as posts, and as silent as philosophers. But hunger is the great damper of military excitation, and those who had been paraded before dinner, after standing under arms for some hours, could endure it no longer, and a forced loan of Cheshire cheese, sprats, neats' tongues, and bottled porter, from a Mr. Murray, of Great George Street, was unanimously decided upon; and, as he afterwards alleged, in a petition to Government for compensation, immediately carried into (what the attorneys called) *execution*. Some hundreds of sharp-set solicitors, with their clerks and scriveners, playing at free quarters with Mr. Murray's stores (unless in His Majesty's service) would have been, as he stated in his petition, a "*tremendous felony.*" As he had no extra reputation for loyalty, and had most unluckily damned the whole of the Royal Family (not omitting the head of it) for the compliments of their yeomanry, the Attorney-General (Lord Norbury) decided, on his petition, that impunity for the curse was ample payment for the cheeses, and that it was, in fact, diamond-cut-diamond between the Government and Mr. Murray. The solicitors with cheerfulness succeeded the horned cattle, which had that morning been their predecessors in the market. The barristers, commanded by Captain Saurin, were likely to sustain the first onset of the pikemen; and as night closed, such a scene of military array never was, and probably never will be witnessed. Smithfield is a long and very wide street, open at both ends, one of which is terminated by the quays and river. It is intersected by narrow streets, and formed altogether one of the most disagreeable positions in which to cram an immense body of demi-disciplined men and horses, in solid mass, without any other order than, "if you are attacked, defend yourselves to the last extremity." So tightly packed were some of His Majesty's yeomanry amidst the bullock-stalls of Smithfield, that this order was totally superfluous, for, however well inclined to abscond, they could not retreat; and if disposed to make battle, one half could not have had space to fight till the other half had been laid low by the pikes and blunderbusses of the enemy.

down a trooper*. The cavalry, being elevated, could breathe freely in the crowd; but the infantry could scarcely avoid suffocation. Five hundred rebels, with long pikes, coming on rapidly in the dark, might, without difficulty, have assailed the yeomen at once from five different points. The Barristers and Attorneys' corps occupied three of those points.

The danger was considered imminent, the defence impracticable, yet there was a cheerful, thoughtless jocularity with which the English nation, under grave circumstances, are totally unacquainted; and plain matter-of-fact men can scarcely conceive that renovating levity which carries an Irish heart buoyantly over every wave, which would swamp, or at least water-log, their more steady fellow subjects. All the barristers, attorneys, merchants, bankers, revenue officers, shop-keepers, students of the University, doctors,

* The night was peculiarly dark, neither moon nor star would look at the engagement; and a considerable number of the lamp-lighters, being of the same disposition, declined their duty. General Craig ordered strong patrols of cavalry through the darkest and narrowest streets. Very much against my grain I had the honour of heading one of them; and having narrowly escaped breaking my neck in an excavacation, my gallant patrol groped their way back to Smithfield, and I went to General Craig to report the successful execution of his orders. With a very unwarrantable forwardness, I ventured to ask the General what was the object of patrolling horses amongst holes and cellars, without one spark of light to fight by. Without replying, he asked me to take a glass of wine, and return to my duty. As he was speaking, we heard a feeble scattered fire in the direction of Rathfarnham. The General's staff and aide-de-camps were instantly about him. "Return directly, Sir," said he; "I shall transmit orders to Smithfield by "my own aide-de-camp. Tell the commanding officer that the attack has commenced upon Lord "Roden's fox hunters, and that his lordship must be supported." The firing did not continue, and I rejoined Captain Saurin with infinite satisfaction.

apothecaries, and corporators, of an immense metropolis, in red coats, with a sprinkling of parsons, all doubled up together amidst bullock stalls and sheep pens, awaiting, in profound darkness (not with impatience), for invisible executioners to dispatch them without mercy, was not (abstractedly) a situation to engender much hilarity—scouts now and then came, only to report their ignorance—a running buzz occasionally went round, that the videts were driven in—and the reports of distant musketry, like a twitch of electricity, gave a slight but perceptible movement to men's muscles*. A few (faintly-heard) shots on the north side also seemed to announce that the van-guard of the Santry men was approaching. In the mean time, no orders came from the general, and if there had, no orders could have been obeyed. It appeared, at break of day, that both Santry and Rathfarnham rebels had adjourned their assault to some other opportunity.

The different corps now got more regular—the bands struck up "God save the King"—the danger of the night, in all its ramification, re-occupied the tongue of every soldier in Smithfield; and at length an order came from General Craig (Lord Roden being victorious), to dismiss the troops, and to parade again in the evening. Never was an order obeyed with more alacrity, and never did the rebels lose so favourable an opportunity of covering a field of battle with more distinguished carcasses.

The rebels had learned that the yeomanry were ready to receive them, and contented themselves with shooting some mail coachmen, and burning some houses, till morning dispersed them. The rebels on the south

* "Steady in the rear;" or, "What the devil are you afraid of?" were the only intelligible expressions (curses excepted) which were uttered during the popping of the musketry.

intended to take the castle by surprise, whilst the Santry men assailed the barracks; but their plan was disconcerted by Lord Roden, at the head of his dragoons (called the fox hunters, from their noble horses). His Lordship marched rapidly upon them, and surprised the few who had collected; and, being supported by a small number of light infantry, the attack completely succeeded. A few rebels were sabred, and some few made prisoners; but the body dispersed with little resistance. Lord Roden received a ball on his helmet, but was only bruised, and some dragoons were wounded; the other (county of Dublin) rebels retreated to join the Kildare men; the southern marched to unite themselves with those of Wicklow. Their plan had been excellent—had they acted steadily on it success was not improbable; however, the metropolis for some time had no further dread of molestation.

A new, disgusting, and horrid scene was next morning publicly exhibited; after which military executions commenced, and continued with unabating activity. Some dead bodies of insurgents, sabred the night before by Lord Roden's dragoons, were brought in a cart to Dublin, with some prisoners tied together; the carcasses were stretched out in the Castle yard, where the Viceroy then resided, and in full view of the Secretary's windows; they lay on the pavement, as trophies of the first skirmish, during a hot day, cut and gashed in every part, covered with clotted blood and dust, the most frightful spectacle which ever disgraced a royal residence, save the seraglio. After several hours' exposure, some appearance of life was perceived in one of the mutilated carcasses. The man had been stabbed and gashed in various parts, his body was removed into the guard-room, and means were taken to restore animation; the efforts succeeded; he entirely

recovered, and was pardoned by Lord Camden; he was an extraordinarily fine young man, above six feet high, the son of a Mr. Keough, an opulent landholder of Rathfarnham; he did not, however, change his principles, and was, ultimately, sent out of the country.

That morning the yeomanry corps were called upon to attend the execution of Lord Roden's prisoners, who were ordered to be hanged from the lamp irons, or on the bridges. It was a service the respectable corps declined—several, however, went individually as spectators. The first victim to that arbitrary and ill-judged execution was a Mr. Ledwitch, of Rathfarnham, the brother of a Catholic clergyman*.

Others were executed at the same time; some of the lamp-lighters also paid with their lives for their former night's omission, and blood began to flow with but little mercy. Bacon (a major of the old volunteers), was caught in a female garb, endeavouring to quit the city; and under a general order to execute, forthwith, all persons found in disguise, he was led to Carlisle Bridge, and hanged from the scaffolding. These species of executions became common, and habit soon reconciled men to what, at first, was not only disgusting, but horrible.

Martial law was now proclaimed, and the courts of justice closed, except on civil subjects. The barristers pleaded in their uniform, with their side-arms—one of the judges (Baron Medge) appeared on the bench in the same uniform—the names of the inmates of every

* He was a remarkably large and heavy person, and was hanged on one of the bridges. By the inexperience of the executioner, Mr. Ledwitch suffered a prolonged and cruel death; the rope frequently slipped, and gave way; at length, his legs were tied up behind his back, and, after much struggling and dragging, he was dispatched with very considerable difficulty. It was a horrid sight.

house were pasted on every door—fabricated reports of massacres and poisonings were daily propagated—the city assumed, altogether, the appearance of one monstrous barrack, or slaughter-house. The attacks on the royal garrisons in Kildare and Dublin counties, were in many places unsuccessful; on other points the rebels entirely succeeded, and no quarter was granted on either side. The town of Prosperous was taken, and the garrison were killed, by the rebels. Doctor Esmond, a yeoman officer, brother of Sir Thomas Esmond, was arrested as a rebel by Lord Gosford, at Naas,—sent to Dublin, and hanged from some scaffolding at the new bridge of Sackville Street. He was carted to execution with his coat turned inside out, and died with courage; but, by the same inexpertness of the executioner, his death was slow and very cruel: till that period, he had been considered a most unexceptionable and respected gentleman.

On the Wexford side the rebels, at first, were almost uniformly successful; they took Wexford without resistance; the garrison retreated with much fighting and some loss. Enniscorthy was stormed by the rebels, and, after a desperate conflict, most of the town was burned, and a great portion of the garrison cut to pieces; the residue escaped, with great difficulty, through the flames*. The rebel victory was complete, and gave

* Captain Hay, of the light dragoons, had been taken prisoner some time before, and was accused of having acted as a commander of the rebels in that attack, and at Arklow. This report acquired strength, from the circumstance that one of his brothers had been hanged as a rebel, and another of them had been an active insurgent during the occupation of Wexford. Captain Hay, however, was tried by a court-martial, and fully acquitted, on the ground of compulsion. He also appeared to have saved the lives of several loyalists at Enniscorthy, and particularly a Mrs. Ogle's sister, whom he carried through the flames of a burning street, and a fire of musketry.

them the possession of that fine position, Vinegar Hill, and the total command of an extensive country.

Major Foot, advancing too confidently with a detachment to Oulart, was totally defeated—only three of his corps escaped. Colonel Walpole, an inexperienced officer, solicited, and, as a court favour, obtained, a command to attack the rebel army near Gorey; but he was surprised by them near that town; many of the troops were destroyed—the Colonel himself fell early in the action—the artillery was taken—and the whole corps was dispersed, or taken prisoners. The town of Gorey was sacked and burned. General Fawcett's detachment was as unfortunate. He marched from Duncannon fort, to unite with other corps collecting to attack Wexford: but he was himself attacked at the Three Rock Mountain; all his artillery was captured; he was utterly routed, and with difficulty got back to Duncannon, with some relics of his corps.

In Kildare the success was alternate, but in most instances the regular troops had the advantage; torrents of blood were shed, and every idea of mercy seemed exploded; acts of ferocity, beyond belief, were committed on both sides*.

* It is singular, that in all the ferocity of the conflict, the storming of towns and of villages, *women* were uniformly respected by the rebels. Though numerous ladies were occasionally in their possession, they never experienced any familiarity, or brutal conduct. But the foreign troops in our service (Hompesch's) not only ill-treated, but occasionally shot gentlewomen. A very pretty married woman in Enniscorthy (Mrs. Stringer, the wife of an attorney) was wantonly shot by a German, in cold blood. The rebels (though her husband was a royalist) some time after took some foreign soldiers prisoners, and piked them all, as they told them—"*just to teach them how to shoot the ladies.*"

General Dundas confidently determined upon breaking a solid body of pikemen, by the impetuosity and weight of his heavy cavalry. The rebels, in a deep close column, and under the ruined church of Old Kilcullen, received them on their pikes: two captains were killed, with many of the heavy cavalry, and the General escaped with difficulty. The same body was attacked again the same day, with *artillery*, and quickly broken; but not till lanes had been repeatedly cut through them by round shot.

The removal of the troops into the camps of Laughlinston and the Neal, gave rise to one of the most melancholy episodes of this History. At Laughlinston (seven miles from Dublin) some thousand men, mostly Irish militia, were encamped by Lord Carhampton. The United Irishmen sent emissaries to the camp; and disaffection was rapidly proceeding amongst the troops. It was disclosed to Government by a Captain Armstrong, of the King's County Militia, who also did what his feelings should have imperatively prohibited.

He was prevailed upon at the Castle to ingratiate himself, as a brother rebel, amongst the higher classes of the conspirators; and to gain proofs of their guilt, through their confidence in his fidelity. He was induced to become evidence, even to death, against those whose culpability he had encouraged, and attend to execution the very gentlemen whom he made victims to their confidence in his integrity.

Of Mr. Reynolds, and his brother conspirator, Armstrong, the former had been disaffected, and might have informed, at least, under the semblance of compunction. He was in humble life; the United Irishmen had first seduced him into their society, and he became terrified at its

consequences. Captain Armstrong wormed himself into the confidence of the rebels, with the design of betraying them: his treachery was pre-organized; and he proved himself as competent a conspirator as those whom he had made his victims. He had the honour of an officer, and the integrity of a gentleman to sustain; yet he deliberately sacrificed both, and saw two gentlemen executed by his treachery.

Mr. Henry and John Sheares were of the Irish bar, and of a respectable family. Henry, the elder, had a competent fortune, and was an excellent domestic character, with a most amiable family; he had received a university education, but was not possessed of talents—plain and friendly—occasionally warm—generally credulous—and always full of prejudices—his mind was never strong enough to resist his feelings; and though unexceptionable in character, he had neither capacity, firmness, nor discretion for a public life. Personally he was not remarkable, except that a mark of red wine nearly covered the left cheek. The younger brother, John, was tall, fair, handsome, and of gentlemanly address. His countenance was sensible, and firm to inflexibility, but not amiable, and far from prepossessing. He was well educated, but mistook the phrases of republicanism for a power of writing in its defence, and of being a leader in its cause. With many qualities of a tyrant, and with much more talent than his brother, he guided him at his discretion, and finally led him to his destruction. They were inseparable as brothers, and were united by an almost unparalleled attachment. Mr. John Sheares, upon the arrest of the other directors, became one of the executive directory of the united Irishmen, and, as a necessary consequence, Henry was a participator in the treason, and aided in procuring emissaries

to seduce the troops at Laughlinston. There Captain Armstrong became acquainted with the two brothers—pledged to them his friendship—persuaded them he would seduce his regiment—gained their implicit confidence—faithfully fulfilled the counterplot—devised several secret meetings—and worked up sufficient guilt to sacrifice the lives of both. They were arrested—tried—on his evidence convicted—and were hanged and beheaded in the front of Newgate. They came hand in hand to the scaffold: Henry died without firmness—the brother met his death with sufficient fortitude. This was one of the most interesting trials in Ireland. Henry might have been pardoned, but it was impossible to mitigate the fate of the brother*.

It is only justice to Lord Clare, to record an incident which proves that he was susceptible of humane feelings, and which often led me to believe that his nature might have been noble, had not every compunctious visiting been absorbed by that ambition, the final disappointment of which, at last, caused his death.

By some unfortunate delay, the letter of Henry Sheares was not delivered to me till eleven o'clock of the morning after the trial. I immediately waited on Lord Clare—he read it with great attention—I saw he was moved—his heart yielded. I improved on the impression—he only

* There never was a more affecting picture of a feeble, agonized mind, at the approach of a violent death, than in the annexed fac-simile. Had but three hours been granted for the unhappy culprit's preparation for his fate, he would have been respited. Lord Clare was disposed to act with great humanity towards this amiable, but misguided man, having discovered that he was utterly ignorant of the sanguinary proclamation, which was found in his secretaire—he had never seen it.

"An original Letter from Counsellor Henry Sheers to the Author, a few hours before his execution for High Treason, May 1798."

My Dearest Friend

The dreadful die is cast
Fly I beseech You to the Chancellor, & save
a Man whose fate will kill his family —
Oh My Dearest friend, My Whole dependance is on
You — Tell the L.d Chancellor I will pray
for him for ever, that the Gov.t shall ever
find Me what they wish — Oh My family
my Wife, My Children, My Mother — go to them
Let them throw themselves at the Chancellors
& L.d Shannon's feet — Those papers
which were found in my Office, have ruined me
You know my D. Friend I had nothing to do
with them — You know I never was an advocate
for violence or blood Had I not the Mr.

I have been duped, misled, deceived,
but with all the wishes & intentions to do good
My principles were never for violence, My
nature is soft to a fault — My Whole happiness
is centered in my beloved, my adored family —
with them I will go to America, if the government
will allow me, or I will stay here & be the
most Zealous friend they have. — Tell the Lord
Chancellor I depend upon the goodness of
his nature, that I will attone for what is
past by a life regular, temperate, & domestic
Oh Speak to him of My poor, wretched family,
My distracted Wife, & my helpless Children
snatch them from the dreadful horrors
which await them & save the life of Your
truest friend. I will lie under any conditions
the Government may chuse to impose on me,
if they will but restore me to my family —:
Desire my Mother to go to Ld Shannon

immediately, & my Wife to the L.d Chancellor
we are to receive Sentence at 3 O'Clock.

Fly I beseech You & save a Man
who will never cease to pray for You
to serve You. —

Let me hear from You my Dear
Fellow as quick as possible. —

God Bless You —

Newgate — 8 O'Clock

said, " What a coward he is! but what can we do?"—he paused— " John Sheares cannot be spared. Do you think Henry can say " anything, or make any species of discovery, which can authorize the " Lord Lieutenant in making a distinction between them, if so, Henry " may be reprieved." He read the letter again, and was obviously affected. I had never seen him amiable before. " Go," said he, " to the prison, see " Henry Sheares, ask him this question, and return to me at Cooke's office." I lost no time, but I found, on my arrival, that orders had been given, that nobody should be admitted without a written permission. I returned to the castle—they were all at council—Cooke was not in his office—I was delayed. At length the secretary returned—gave me the order— I hastened to Newgate, and arrived at the very moment the executioner was holding up the head of my friend, and saying, " *Here is the head of a traitor.*"

This rebellion, which commenced on the 23rd of May, 1798, and was concluded in a few months, produced a greater effusion of blood, more ferocity, and more devastation than were ever witnessed in Ireland within an equal period. Partial battles and skirmishes were incessant, but general engagements were not numerous. All the conflicts were most obstinate, but the results evinced the impossibility of resisting military organization, by the heroism, or even the enthusiasm, of undisciplined multitudes.

It was only in small bodies that the rebels were successful. The principal battles were those of Arklow, Enniscorthy, Ross, and Vinegar Hill. At Arklow, in a regular line, the rebels assailed a disciplined army in the field, and the result was a drawn battle. At Ross, after

storming the town, and gaining ten houses, they surrendered themselves to drunkenness and plunder, and were slaughtered in their inebriety.

At Vinegar Hill, the rebel entrenchments were defended for several hours, though attacked by twenty thousand regular troops, with ordnance, and the loss of the insurgents was disproportionately small. They retired unpursued, and soon formed another army, and marched to the very heart of Ireland.

At Gorey Carnew, the Three Rocks, and numerous places, where they fought in ambuscades, they always succeeded; and had they confined themselves to desultory attacks and partisan warfare, they might soon have destroyed their local enemies, the yeomen, and wearied and exhausted the regular troops. After the storming of Gorey, had they succeeded in taking Arklow, they might have marched to the metropolis in one day.

To protect Arklow, therefore, was imperatively necessary, yet it was but poorly garrisoned, and totally unprovided with ammunition or provisions. The garrison were considerably less than one thousand men, principally irregular troops, and not a field-work, or other preparation, had been made to defend the place. An old barrack, incapable of defence, was their only fortification, four pieces of field artillery their only ordnance, and a party of the Ancient Britons, and a few yeomen, their only cavalry. The rebels had collected nearly thirty thousand men at the ruined town of Gorey, within a few miles of Arklow, which they boldly declared they would storm the ensuing morning. The alarm of the metropolis, at this intelligence, may be easily conceived. An immediate reinforcement of the garrison of Arklow could alone prevent an attack on

Dublin, and an insurrection of the populace. The Cavan militia, commanded by the present Lord Farnham, were instantly dispatched to succour General Needham; but the distance being more than thirty miles, they were hurried off in every sort of vehicle; and even the carriages of the nobility and gentry were seized or tendered for the occasion.

This was the most regular engagement throughout the whole of the insurrection. The pikemen of the rebel army amounted to many thousands—the king's troops were under fifteen hundred—the fire-arms, on each side, were nearly equal in number, but those of the rebels were of every calibre and description, whilst their powder was carried in horns or in the pocket, and was but scantily supplied.

The Cavan regiment arrived at the critical minute. The conflict was in a level field at the extremity of the town; the royal infantry being in a line on open ground, with two pieces of cannon at each wing; the rebels, with fire-arms, were drawn up in a line exactly parallel, with a very low ditch in front, and two pieces of artillery on each flank; small flags of green and yellow waved in every part of their position—the fire began as regularly as between disciplined armies—no movements were made on either side—the rebel pikemen formed a crescent on a range of hills just over the royalists, and waited for any disorder to rush down and exterminate them. An uninterrupted fire was kept up by both parties for some hours, with very little comparative execution; the rebels took bad aim, being unaccustomed to fire-arms, and they were, in some measure, protected by the banks of the ditch in front of them. At length, the rebels dismounted one of the royal cannon, killed the gunners, and the battle was becoming doubtful. The left flank of the royal army was protected by some cavalry

and houses, and the right by their barracks, and a piece of artillery, which commanded the road. The rebels had no pre-arranged plan of attack, and their immense body of pikemen remained inactive on the eminence, a few hundred yards from the scene of action. The royal officers became alarmed: had the rebels' ammunition lasted and the pikemen charged, the danger would have been extreme. General Needham and most of the officers were disposed to retire, as a matter of necessity; but Colonel Skerritt, of the Dumbarton fencibles, resolutely declared, that his regiment never should retreat. A retrograde movement would have given an opportunity for a rush of the pikemen, which must have ended in the annihilation of the royal force: no quarter was expected upon either side: had the royal troops advanced, they might have been easily surrounded; their alternative was, to succeed or perish. The ammunition of the royal army began to fail; but, fortunately, that of the rebels was first exhausted: the firing gradually slackened, and, at length, a very ferocious attack was made on the right wing, by a large body of pikemen, led by Mr. Roche, a Catholic priest: a four-pounder opened its fire, and Father Roche received a ball, which tore him to pieces. The rebels, thus dispirited, advanced no farther; and after an effort on the left, repulsed by some Ancient Britons, they began to retreat, but without precipitation. The royal army did not think it prudent to pursue, but retired to their barracks, whilst the rebels fell back, unmolested, to Gorey. Thus concluded a battle by no means the most sanguinary, but, certainly, one of the most important of the rebellion. Had the rebels succeeded, they would have been reinforced, every mile of their march to Dublin, by the disaffected population of Wexford and Wicklow. Kildare, Meath, and Westmeath were in arms, and the capital

itself had more than 30,000 organized rebels within its walls; and, however intrepidly defended by its yeomen and loyalists, must have yielded in a river of blood to the innumerable hosts of its enthusiastic and fanatical assailants. Their failure, however, in the principal attacks in Kildare and Wicklow, had dispirited and disorganized a multitude without officers to direct them, and Ireland was thus saved from impending carnage. More than 30,000 rebels were actually present at the battles of Ross and Arklow; and Wexford and Wicklow are by no means the most populous counties. At a very moderate computation, there were, in Wexford and Wicklow, at least 50,000 effective insurgents, either under arms or prepared to take arms, had their measures continued to be successful. Their courage and perseverance may be estimated by the extraordinary incidents of the battle of Ross, which lasted ten hours with alternate success, and in which they were finally conquered, only by their insubordination, and the incapacity of their leaders.

The battle of Ross, with respect to its incidents and extensive results, is the most important of the rebellion. Ross is surrounded, on three sides by steep hills, and on the fourth by a river dividing it from the southern counties, and having a long wooden bridge. The possession of Ross, therefore, would open a communication with the southern insurgents, who were prepared to rise, *en masse*, the moment their friends should occupy that town; and the City of Waterford, and probably the whole of the western and southern counties, would have been in their possession. A rebel army of nearly 30,000 men assembled on Laken Hill, near the town of Ross. Their General, Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, was, of all men, probably the most unfit for so desperate an enterprise; his figure

diminutive, weak, and meagre; his voice tremulous; his dress squalid; his mind as feeble as his body, and as undecided as his stumbling movements;—as an officer, he had neither skill, system, nor energy. He was a Protestant barrister of fortune; good tempered, and of good private character; and was selected, from being lord of Bargay Castle, and of considerable demesnes in the county of Wexford. Of personal courage he had sufficient, but of that heroic bravery which urges men to military action he was altogether unsusceptible; his wandering eye could fix on nothing; his wretched mind shrunk within itself from the responsibility he had encountered. Most of the other officers were little better than himself; and an army of 30,000 intrepid, persevering rebels could not produce one officer of sufficient tact or intrepidity to lead them to a certain and easy victory. Harvey and his aide-de-camp, Mr. Gray, a Protestant attorney, remained inactive spectators during ten hours incessant *fighting*.

The first attack commenced at six o'clock in the morning, on only one entrance to the town, and that the most defensible by the garrison; all the others were neglected, otherwise, the garrison not being sufficiently numerous to defend all, the town must have been entered from several quarters. A regiment of infantry and one of cavalry marched out to distract the rebels, and prevent their attack upon the other entrances. Both regiments were driven back with great loss—the cavalry by the bullocks*

* At this battle the rebels practised a *ruse de guerre* used originally by the Romans. A regiment of heavy cavalry had marched out, to charge them on their first approach: they suspected the attack, and were prepared to receive them by a very unexpected salutation. They had cooped up in a field near two hundred bullocks. When these beasts are urged, and rush on in a body, nothing can stop them: a wall, or even a house, they have been known to dash against, in their

and pikemen, the infantry by ambuscades and irregular attacks. Lord Mountjoy fell at the head of his regiment, immediately at the gate; and the royalists and the rebels entered Ross almost intermingled. The main street became the scene of a most sanguinary and protracted conflict; the royalists were forced back, and their artillery taken and turned on themselves. The market-house alone remained in possession of the troops; and after a long and bloody contest they retreated to the bridge, prepared, if necessary, to pass to the other side, and destroy the communication. Had they done this, they must have marched through the very heart of an insurgent country, and all would have been massacred. There is scarcely a trait of individual courage which was not exemplified during that contest†; the battle occasionally slackened—it never ceased for a moment.

blind fury. When the heavy cavalry were in a proper position on the road, the rebels, with their pikes, goaded the bullocks; maddened by the smart, they rushed to the openings of the enclosure, which had been purposely made for them: nothing could withstand them; the cavalry were overwhelmed; man and horse were overthrown and trampled upon. Of such as could retreat through the gate, several met their death from the rebel pikemen.

† The account of this battle I have had from many, but from none so accurately or circumstantially as from a gentleman I have been long acquainted with—Counsellor Lundyfoot, son of the eminent person of that name. He had some property there, and curiosity led him to Ross, to see what was going forward; just as he got there he found he could not get away again, and was obliged to remain, and run his chances during the battle. He was a member of the barristers' infantry, and conceived that no soldier should on such occasions be inactive; he therefore armed, acted as a volunteer, and was in the very midst of the battle during the ten hours it continued. He described to me the desperate valour of the rebels, and confirmed to me a story, nearly incredible, of their ignorance, namely: an old rebel thrusting a wig into the mouth of an adverse cannon, to prevent its explosion.

The rebels, certain of victory, lost all subordination; broke open the houses, drank all the liquors they could find, and, in their turn, were attacked by such of the garrison as had time to rally. Many were killed, almost without resistance; the town was set on fire, and in the midst of the flames the battle raged most violently. The royalists recovered the main street. The rebels were on the point of being finally repulsed, when a young gentleman of thirteen years of age, from the town of Wexford, of the respectable family of Lett, in that town, had stolen away from his mother, and joined General Harvey on Lacken Hill. The boy saw the disorder of the rebels, and the incapacity of their leaders, and with a boyish impulse he snatched up a standard, and calling out "Follow me who dare!" rushed down the hill; two or three thousand pikemen rapidly followed him, in a tumultuous crowd, and uttering the most appalling cries. In a moment he was at the gate—rallied the rebels—and with his reinforcement rushed upon the garrison, who, fatigued and astonished at the renewed vigour of their enemy, were again born down, and compelled with much loss, fighting step by step, to retire towards the bridge. For many hours the firing in the streets and houses was incessant; and the rebels were very nearly in possession of the entire place, when again all subordination vanished, and again, through their inebriety, fortune forsook them. Some hundred houses were in a blaze:—the horror was indescribable. The remaining body of the garrison, overcome by fatigue, were nearly unable to continue the contest.

The firing, however, continued till towards night, when the rebels who had not entered the houses, having no officers to command them, retreated through the gate by which they had entered to Lacken Hill,

leaving some thousands of their comrades intoxicated or asleep in different houses, or in the streets, to which the flames had not communicated. Of these, the garrison put hundreds to the sword, without any difficulty; and more than 5000 rebels were killed, or were consumed by the conflagration. The garrison, exhausted by ten hours' incessant fighting, without refreshments, lay down in the streets slumbering amongst the dead; and had General Harvey, at any hour before morning, returned with 1000 fresh rebels, every soldier might have been slaughtered. The loss was sufficient to convince even the most sanguine of the rebels, that, with such a commander, they would, by a new attack, only experience a similar slaughter.

Vinegar Hill is a beautiful, verdant, low mountain; the river Slaney rolls smoothly at its foot on the one side, and the large town of Enniscorthy lies immediately under its base upon another; at one point the ascent is rather steep—on the others, gradual; the top is crowned by a dilapidated stone building. The hill is extensive, and completely commands the town and most of the approaches to it; the country around it is rich, sufficiently wooded, and studded with country seats and lodges. Few spots in Ireland, under all its circumstances, can at this moment be more interesting to a traveller. On the summit of this hill the rebels had collected the remains of their Wexford army: the number may be conjectured, from General Lake deciding that 20,000 regular troops were necessary for the attack. The rebels had dug a slight ditch around a large extent of the base; they had a very few pieces of small, half-disabled cannon, some swivels, and not above two thousand fire-arms of all descriptions. But their situation was desperate; and General Lake considered that two thousand fire-arms, in the hands of infuriated and courageous men, supported by a multitude of pike-

men, might be equal to ten times the number under other circumstances. A great many women mingled with their relatives, and fought with fury; several were found dead amongst the men, who had fallen in crowds by the bursting of shells.

The circumstantial details of that battle, however interesting, are too numerous for these memoirs.

General Lake, at the break of day, disposed his attack in four columns, whilst his cavalry were prepared to do execution on the fugitives. One of the columns (whether by accident or design is strongly debated) did not arrive in time at its station, by which the rebels were enabled to retreat to Wexford, through a country where they could not be pursued by cavalry or cannon. It was astonishing with what fortitude the rebels, uncovered, stood the tremendous fire opened upon the four sides of their position: a stream of shells and grape was poured on the fanatical multitude; the priests encouraged them by exhortations, the women by their cries, and every shell that broke amongst the crowd was followed by shouts of defiance. General Lake's horse was shot—many officers wounded—some killed—and a few gentlemen became invisible during the heat of the battle. The troops advanced gradually but steadily up the hill; the rebels kept up their fire, and maintained their ground—their cannon was nearly useless—their powder deficient—but they died fighting at their post. At length, enveloped in a torrent of fire, they broke, and sought their safety through the space that General Needham had left by the non-arrival of his column. They were partially charged by some cavalry, but with little execution; they retreated to Wexford, and that night occupied the town.

During the battle, the pike and blunderbuss were in constant exercise:

both parties had committed great atrocities in cold blood, under the milder term of retaliation. Previous to that battle Enniscorthy had been twice stormed; every street in it had streamed with blood; many hundred houses had been burned; and the battles had been hand to hand in the midst of flames and falling edifices. The rebels asserted that eighty-seven wounded rebels, whom the king's army had found convalescent in the market-house, had been burned alive; and next day, in revenge, they burned above a hundred royalists in a barn at Scullabogue. When fighting had ceased, one of the German soldiers deliberately shot a Mrs. Stringer, when looking from her window: her husband had been previously slaughtered. The rebels soon after laid a snare, and gratified their revenge by the slow death of every German they caught.

These transactions are dreadful, even to the recollection; they were the ruin of the nation and its character, but are only mentioned to give some idea of that worst of all scourges—civil war, and of the most cruel situation into which Mr. Pitt permitted the Irish nation to fall, in order to effect his purpose of a union. The subsequent administration of Lord Cornwallis leaves no ground of scepticism upon this subject.

The infliction of torture was incessant, and acts of retaliation were as frequent. Gentlemen were executed—some with trials, others with worse than none. The execution of Sir William Crooly, was a murder; that of Mr. Grogan, a butchery. The humane and honourable Viceroy had signed no warrants for their executions; he was seldom consulted respecting the rebels, till their fate had been decided; his conduct was considerate and upright, where he was not governed by his council.

The rebellion had been nearly exhausted, and the character of Lord Camden having borne him through the most appalling scenes, he was

considered by Mr. Pitt a very unfit person to employ for his ulterior objects, and he was recalled, with the sincere regret of every moderately loyal subject in Ireland. Lord Camden, notwithstanding the destructive errors of his government, will ever retain a high reputation amongst the gentlemen of Ireland.

Lord Cornwallis was now selected to complete the project of a union, and Lord Castlereagh was continued as Chief Secretary. His system was, of all others, the most artful and insidious: he affected impartiality, whilst he was deceiving both parties; he encouraged the rebel, and he roused the royalist; one day he destroyed—the next day he was merciful. His system, however, had not exactly the anticipated effect. Every thing gave reason to expect a restoration of tranquillity, and it was through the impression of horror alone that a union could be effected.

A portion of an armament, destined by France to aid the Irish insurgents, had escaped our cruisers, and had landed about a thousand troops at Killala Bay. They entered Killala without opposition, surprising the bishop and a company of parsons who were on their visitation. Nothing could be better than their conduct, and the bishop, in a publication on this event, did them ample justice, at the expense of his own translation.

They were joined by a considerable number of savage peasantry, unarmed, unclothed, and undisciplined. The French were totally disgusted with their auxiliaries, but did the best they could to render them efficient. After some stay at Killala, they determined to march into the country, and, even with that small force, they expressed but little doubt of reaching the metropolis.

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Rt. Hon.ble General Lord Hutchinson.

Knight of the Bath.

Published March 1st 1814 by G. Robinson, Paternoster Row, London.

Lord Hutchinson commanded the garrison of Castlebar, a few miles from Killala. His force being pretty numerous, with a good train of artillery, he had no suspicion that a handful of French would presume to attack him.

General Lake with his staff had just arrived, and taken the command (as an older officer), as Lord Hutchinson had determined to march the ensuing day, and end the question, by a capture of the French detachment. The repose of the generals was of short duration. Early in the morning they were roused by an account that the French and rebels were in full march upon them. They immediately beat to arms, and the troops were moved to a position, about a mile from Castlebar, which, to an unskilled person, seemed unassailable. They had scarcely been posted, with nine pieces of cannon, when the French appeared on the opposite side of a small lake, descending a hill in columns, directly in front of the English. Our artillery played on them with effect. The French kept up a scattered fire of musquetry, and took up the attention of our army by irregular movements. In half an hour, however, our troops were alarmed by a movement of small bodies to turn their left, which, being covered by walls, they had never apprehended. The orders given were either mistaken or misdelivered, the line wavered, and, in a few minutes, the whole of the royal army was completely routed—the flight of the infantry was as that of a mob—all the royal artillery was taken—our army fled to Castlebar—the heavy cavalry galloped amongst the infantry and Lord Jocelyn's light dragoons, and made the best of their way, through thick and thin, to Castlebar and towards Tuam, pursued by such of the French as could get horses to carry them.

About nine hundred French and some rebels took possession of

Castlebar without resistance, except from a few highlanders stationed in the town, who were soon destroyed*.

This battle has been generally called the *Races of Castlebar*. A considerable part of the Louth and Kilkenny regiments, not finding it convenient to retreat, thought the next best thing they could do would be to join the victors, which they immediately did, and in one hour were completely equipped as French riflemen. About ninety of these men were hanged by Lord Cornwallis afterwards at Ballynamuch. One of them defended himself by insisting, "that it was the army and not he who "were deserters; that whilst he was fighting hard they all ran away, "and left him to be murdered." Lord Jocelyn got him saved. The defeat of Castlebar, however, was a victory to the Viceroy; it revived all the horrors of the rebellion which had been subsiding, and the desertion of the militia regiments tended to impress the gentry with an idea, that England alone could protect the country.

Lord Cornwallis was supine, and the rebels were active in profiting by this victory; 40,000 of them were preparing to assemble at the Crooked Wood, in Westmeath, only forty-two miles from Dublin, ready to join the French and march upon the metropolis.

The French continued too long at Castlebar, and Lord Cornwallis at length collected 20,000 troops, with which he considered himself pretty

* The native character of the French never showed itself more strongly than after this action. When in full possession of the large town of Castlebar, they immediately set about putting their persons in the best order, and the officers advertised a ball and supper that night, for the ladies of the town; this, it is said, was well attended; decorum in all points was strictly preserved; they paid ready money for every thing, and hanged some rebels who attempted to plunder; in fact, the French army established the French character wherever they occupied.

Engraved by J. Heath, from a Drawing from life by Commerford, in the possession of Sir Jonah Barrington.

COL.ᴸ CHARLES VEREKER.

Published Aug.ᵗ 1ˢᵗ 1811, by G. Robinson, Paternoster Row London.

certain of conquering 900 men. He marched directly to the Shannon to prevent their passage, but the rebels had led the French to the source of that river; and, as it was ten days before his Lordship reached his enemy, had not Colonel Vereker (Lord Gort) delayed them in a rather sanguinary skirmish, it was possible they might have slipped by his Lordship and have been revelling in Dublin, whilst he was roaming about the Shannon: however, he at length overtook the enemy. Lord Jocelyn's fox hunters were determined to retrieve their character, lost at Castlebar, and a squadron, led by his Lordship, made a bold charge upon the French; but they were beaten, and his Lordship was made prisoner.

The French corps, however, saw that success was impossible, and they afterwards surrendered prisoners of war without resistance: they were sent to Dublin, and afterwards to France.

Horrors had re-commenced; executions were multiplied. Lord Cornwallis marched against the rebels, still masters of Killala; and after a sanguinary conflict in the streets, the town was taken: some rebels were slaughtered, some hanged, and the whole district was on the point of being reduced to subjection. Lord Cornwallis now proclaimed an armistice, permitted the rebels to disperse, and gave them thirty days, either to surrender their arms or be prepared for slaughter; this interval was terrific to the loyalists; the thirty days of armistice were thirty days of new horror, and the Government had now reached the very climax of terror, on which they so much counted for inducing Ireland to throw herself into the arms of the protecting country.

CHAPTER XII.

Character of Lord Cornwallis—Of Lord Castlereagh—Execution of Captain Keugh and Mr. Grogan—The Union—Mr. Cooke's Pamphlet—The Bar Meeting—Lord Clare's Patronage—The Beresford Family—Opening of Parliament—The King's Speech—Lord Tyrone moves the Address—Debates upon the Union—Character of Mr. Ball—Bribery of Mr. Trench, Lord Ashtown, in the Body of the House—The Stratagem of Mr. Luke Fox with the Place Bill—Division on the Address—Violent Excitement of the Country—Renewed Debates on bringing up the Address—Exertions of the Government to secure a Majority—Conduct of Admiral Pakenham and of Mr. Marshall—Gallery of the House of Commons—Defeat of the Treasury Bench—Mr. Ponsonby's Declaration of Rights—Extraordinary Scene in the House—Mr. W. C. Fortescue's Dissent from the Declaration—Mr. Ponsonby's Motion withdrawn—Debates in the Lords.

Mr. Pitt had now reduced Ireland to a state fitted to receive the Union. The loyalists were still struggling through the embers of a rebellion, scarcely extinguished by the torrents of blood which had been poured upon them; the insurgents were artfully distracted between the hopes of mercy and the fear of punishment; the Catholics were seduced by delusive hopes of emancipation; and, whilst the church was assured of its ascendancy, protection was held out to the sectarians. Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh seemed created for such a crisis; an unremitting perseverance, an absence of all political compunctions, an unqualified contempt of public opinion, and a disregard of every constitutional principle, were common to

Engraved by J. Bluck from an original Painting by Cammaford in possession of Sir J. Barrington.

CHARLES CORNWALLIS, MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland

Published Sept.r 1.st 1809, by G. Robinson, Paternoster Row, London.

both. They held that "the end justifies the means;" and, unfortunately, their private characters were calculated to screen their public conduct from popular suspicion.

Lord Cornwallis, with the exception of the Union, which renders him the most prominent person in Irish history, had never succeeded in any of his public measures. His conduct in America had deprived England of her dominions, and her army of its reputation;—his catastrophe at York Town gave a shock to the King's mind, from which it never entirely recovered. In India, having defeated Tippoo Saib, he concluded a peace which only increased the necessity of future wars. Weary of the sword, he was sent to conclude the peace of Amiens; but, out-manœuvred by Lucien Bonaparte, his Lordship's treaty involved all Europe in a war against England. He had thought to blind or conciliate Lucien, by complimenting the First Consul, even to the extent of sacrificing his sovereign's title as King of France, which had been borne since the conquests of our Edwards and Henries. The title of Defender of the Faith—corruptly bestowed by a pope on a tyrant—ought to have accompanied the sacrifice. He was now employed by Mr. Pitt to produce the Union—a measure which has failed in every result, by the prediction of which it was justified.

Lord Castlereagh had been more than seven years in the Irish Parliament, but was undistinguished by talents. In private life, his honourable conduct, gentlemanly habits, and engaging demeanour, were exemplary. Of his public life, the commencement was patriotic, the progress corrupt, and the termination criminal. His first public essay was a motion to reform the Irish Parliament, and his last was to corrupt and annihilate it, by bribing one hundred and fifty-four of its members. It is impossible to

deny a fact so notorious. History, tradition, or the fictions of romance, contain no instance of a minister in Ireland who so fearlessly deviated from all the principles which ought to characterize the servant of a constitutional monarch, or the citizen of a free country. The facts of this history will prove the justice of this observation. The means by which, as the working artist, he effected the Union, will teach the people of England to appreciate their escape from a continuation of his public services.

In Wexford, many of the Protestant gentry had taken a part in the rebellion, and among these, the most remarkable was a Captain Keugh. He was of a portly person, gentlemanly manners, well tempered, cool, and plausible. He was a captain in the army, upon half-pay, and had signalized himself in the county as a magistrate, by his impartial justice. Excited by the ill treatment of Lord Clare, he became the rebel governor of Wexford, and was executed under martial law by General Lake, with Mr. Grogan, of Johnson Castle, who had been representative of the county, and was not more a rebel than those who condemned him. He was seventy years of age, and had lost the use of his limbs, when he was executed. The miseries of civil war were never more strongly exemplified than in these two cases. The brother of Captain Keugh was a major upon half-pay, and resided with him, and unable to recall him to a sense of his duty, he shot himself in despair. Mr. Grogan had a very large estate, and his two brothers were men of fortune. A few days before his execution, one brother had been killed, as a royalist, in the battle of Arklow, and the other, a captain in the army, wounded in the retreat from Wexford. Uninfluenced by gratitude or justice, the Government passed an *ex post facto* bill of attainder, by which the family estates were lost to the surviving brother.

This was the act of Lord Norbury, who was not without his reasons for the measure; which, however, was opposed by Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Plunket, and carried only after a long debate. After the law officers of the crown had received their fees, the estates were reconveyed to the remaining brother. Mr. William Hatton had been one of the rebel directory of Wexford; his brother was a Member of the Irish Parliament, in the interest of Government. Numerous were the instances in that devoted county of families being thus divided.

The rebellion had commenced on the 23rd of May, 1798, and on the 22nd of January, 1799, a union was proposed. The commercial propositions had taught Mr. Pitt that, in a period of tranquillity, nothing could be effected with the Irish Parliament by fraud or delusion. But for the terrors of the rebellion, the proposal of a Union might have united all parties against the Government; and Lord Cornwallis's unexampled warfare against nine hundred Frenchmen, was evidently intended more for terror than for victory.

Mr. Pitt's project was first decidedly announced by a pamphlet, written by Mr. Edward Cooke, the Under-Secretary, entitled "Arguments for and against a Union considered." It was plausibly written, and it roused the people from their confidence that no English Minister dare propose, or Irishman abet, a destruction of that independence which Ireland had possessed less than eighteen years. Mr. Cooke was promptly replied to, by a pamphlet entitled "Cease your Funning;"—a masterpiece of its kind, which, in the garb of wit and irony, conveyed the most skilful reasoning, and rendered Mr. Cooke's publication perfectly ridiculous. The author was high at the Irish bar; and it was sent to press five days after the first line was written. Above a hundred pamphlets were published upon the subject.

The Bar in Ireland was formerly not a working trade, but a proud profession, filled with gentlemen of birth and fortune, who were then residents in their country. The Government, the Parliament, every municipality then felt the influence of that profession, whose pride it was always to defend the Constitution. The number of offices connected with the law were then comparatively few. The estimable Lord Lifford, at his death, was succeeded on the woolsack by Lord Clare, who immediately gave the utmost latitude to his arbitrary temper and despotic principles.

He commenced his office with a splendor far exceeding all precedent. He expended four thousand guineas for a state carriage; his establishment was splendid, and his entertainments magnificent. His family connexions absorbed the patronage of the State, and he became the most absolute subject that modern times had seen in the British Islands. His only check was the Bar, which he resolved to corrupt. He doubled the number of the bankrupt commissioners; he revived some offices—created others—and, under pretence of furnishing each county with a local judge, in two months he established thirty-two new offices, of about six or seven hundred pounds per annum each. His arrogance in court intimidated many whom his patronage could not corrupt; and he had no doubt of overpowering the whole profession.

A meeting of the Bar, however, to discuss the Union, was called on the 9th of December, 1799, at the Exhibition Room, William Street, and Mr. Smith, as the father of the Bar, was voted in the chair. Among those who had called the meeting were fourteen of the king's counsel—E. Mayne, W. Saurin, W. C. Plunket, C. Bushe, W. Sankey, B. Burton, J. Barrington, A. M'Cartney, G. O'Farrell, J. O'Driscoll, J. Lloyd, P. Burrowes, R. Jebb, and H. Joy, Esquires.

Mr. Saurin opened the debate. His speech was vapid, and his resolution unpointed; but he had great influence in his profession. He was a moderate Hugonot, and grandson of the great preacher at the Hague; he was an excellent lawyer, and an amiable pious christian. He was followed by Captain Spencer, of the barristers' cavalry.

Mr. Saint George Daly, a briefless barrister, was the first supporter of the Union. Of all men he was the least thought of for preferment; but it was wittily observed, "that the Union was the first brief Mr. Daly had spoken from." He moved an adjournment.

Mr. Thomas Grady was the Fitzgibbon spokesman: a gentleman of independent property, a tolerable lawyer, an amatory poet, a severe satirist, and an indefatigable quality hunter. He had written the "Flesh-Brush," for Lady Clare; the "West Briton," for the Union; the "Barrister," for the Bar; and the "Nosegay," for a banker at Limerick.

"The Irish," said Mr. Grady, "are only the rump of an aristocracy. "Shall I visit posterity with a system of war, pestilence, and famine? No! "give me a Union. Unite me to that country where all is peace, and "order, and prosperity. Without a Union we shall see embryo chief-"judges, attorneys-general in perspective, and animalcula serjeants. All "the cities of the south and west are on the Atlantic Ocean, between "the rest of the world and Great Britain; they are all for it—they must "all become warehouses: the people are Catholics, and they are all for "it," &c. &c. &c.

Mr. John Beresford, Lord Clare's nephew and purse-bearer, followed, as if for the charitable purpose of taking the laugh from Mr. Grady, in which he perfectly succeeded. Mr. Beresford afterwards became a parson,

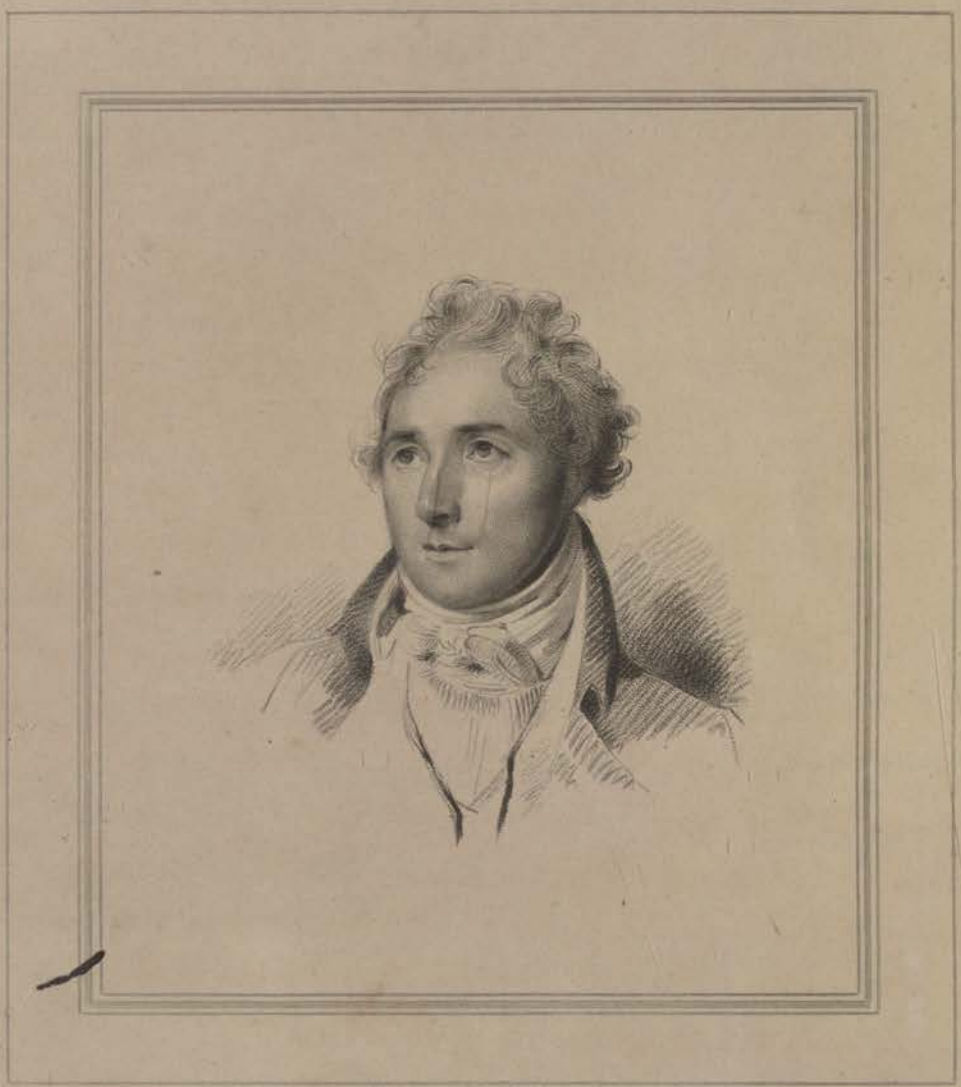
and is now Lord Decies. Mr. Gold said, "There are 40,000 British troops "in Ireland, and with 40,000 bayonets at my breast, the minister shall not "plant another Sicily in the bosom of the Atlantic. I want not the assist- "ance of divine inspiration to foretel, for I am enabled by the visible and "unerring demonstrations of nature to assert, that Ireland was destined to "be a free and independent nation. Our patent to be a state, not a shire, "comes direct from heaven. The Almighty has, in majestic characters, "signed the great charter of our independence. The great Creator of "the world has given our beloved country the gigantic outlines of a "kingdom. The God of nature never intended that Ireland should be "a province, *and by G— she never shall**."

The assembly burst into a tumult of applause; a repetition of the words came from many mouths, and many an able lawyer swore hard upon the subject: but the division was—

Against the Union	166
In favour of it	32
Majority	134

Thirty-two was the precise number of the county judges, and of this minority the following persons were afterwards rewarded for their adherence to Lord Clare:—

* This being the first oath which the Bar had ever heard, regularly taken by a public speaker, as a part of his speech, they humorously decided, on the ensuing circuit, that, as Mr. Gold had taken the oath only in a speech, he was not bound to keep it. After the Union, Mr. Gold acquired the title of "Pious Perjury."



Engraved by J. Hudsdon an original Drawing by Cosefordian possession of Sir Jonah Barrington.

THOMAS GOLD ESQr.

One of his Majesty's Council at Law.

Published March 1. 1811. by G. Robinson, Paternoster Row, London

		£.	s.	d.
1.	Mr. Saint George Daly, appointed first Prime Serjeant, and afterwards Baron of the Exchequer	3,500	0	0
2.	Mr. Jameson (an Englishman), Commissioner of Compensations, afterwards Accountant-General of Chancery	1,200	0	0
3.	Mr. William Smith; first, Solicitor-General, and afterwards, Baron of the Exchequer	3,500	0	0
4.	Mr. Thomas Monsell, a County Judge	600	0	0
5.	Mr. William Johnson, a Judge of the Common Pleas	3,000	0	0
6.	Mr. James M'Clelland, a Baron of the Exchequer	3,500	0	0
7.	Mr. William Turner, a County Judge	600	0	0
8.	Mr. John Schoales, a County Judge	600	0	0
9.	Mr. Thomas Vickers, a County Judge	600	0	0
10.	Mr. J. Homan, a County Judge	600	0	0
11.	Mr. Thomas Grady, a County Judge	600	0	0
12.	Mr. John Dwyer, Junior, a County Judge	600	0	0
13.	Mr. J. Beresford, Purse Bearer			
14.	Mr. R. G. Leslie, a County Chairman	600	0	0
15.	Mr. Thomas Scott, a County Chairman	600	0	0
16.	Mr. P. F. Hinchy, Commissioner of Bankrupts, since King's Counsel	300	0	0
17.	Mr. J. Keller, Officer of Court of Chancery	500	0	0
18.	Mr. Henry Brook, a Chairman	600	0	0
19.	Mr. F. W. Fortescue, a SECRET Pension of	400	0	0
20.	Mr. Robert Torrence, a Judge of the Common Pleas	3,200	0	0
21.	Mr. James Gerahty, a Chairman	600	0	0
22.	Mr. Richard F. Sharkey, a Chairman	600	0	0
23.	Mr. William Longfield, an Office	500	0	0
24.	Mr. J. W. Stokes, a Chairman	600	0	0
25.	Mr. William Roper, a Chairman	600	0	0

After this decision, Sir Jonah Barrington resigned his commission as a yeoman officer, and the corps shortly after ceased to act.

The Right Honourable James Fitzgerald, then prime serjeant, was dismissed from office, having peremptorily refused to vote for the Union. The office of prime serjeant, unknown in England, in Ireland took precedence of the Attorney and Solicitor General. The emoluments were very great—Mr. Saint George Daly was immediately rewarded by that office, to the duties of which he was totally incompetent, never having been in any considerable practice at the bar.

A meeting was then called, to express to Mr. Fitzgerald the thanks of his profession for his disinterested patriotism; never was there a more just and honourable tribute paid to an honest public character.

The bar, however, were greatly deceived as to another gentleman. It was reported by the friends of Mr. Luke Fox, that he had refused the office of prime serjeant, vacated by Mr. Fitzgerald. The bar meeting then moved their thanks to Mr. Fox (by address) for his integrity, but his friends, very wisely, declined the honour. In a few days he openly supported the Union.

The bar had also determined, that the precedence in the courts should be continued to Mr. Fitzgerald; to this Lord Clare would not accede, and he treated the subject with great arrogance in his court. That session concluded without any other meeting of the profession.

The day after that debate, Mr. Saint George Daly drew up a protest of the minority, some of whom refused to sign it: he got some substitutes, so as to keep up his number of thirty-two, but not one person of professional eminence, of public character, or independence appeared in the whole number:

Engraved by J. Heath, from a drawing from life by Commerford, in the poſſeſsion of Sir Jonah Barrington.

RIGHT HON.BLE JAMES FITZGERALD.

Late Prime Serjeant of Ireland.

Publiſhed Aug.st 1.st 1811, by G. Robinſon, Paternoſter Row, London.

it was universally ridiculed, but Mr. Daly carried his object—his own promotion.

Five of the debates on the Union in the Irish Commons comprised every thing of merit urged on the subject, and of these, three took place in January, 1799, whilst men were impressed with the horrors of the rebellion and the fears of a French invasion. The debates of 1800 were after the Parliament had been packed. The competence of Parliament to relinquish the Constitution, by a mere statute, was discussed with extraordinary ability.

The first debate was on the 22nd January, 1799, and lasted till eleven o'clock in the morning of the 23rd, or twenty-two hours. The Government obtained a majority of only one, and that by palpable seduction. The second debate commenced at five o'clock on the same day, and continued till late in the morning of the 24th, when the country being roused, the Treasury Bench was, unexpectedly, defeated. About seventy of the members had no alternative but to obey the minister, or be deprived of their subsistence; otherwise, nine-tenths of the House would have voted against the Union. Ireland was not honestly deprived of her Parliament; and justice, as well as interest, should induce the English nation to treat the Irish as an integral part of themselves.

The speech from the Viceroy, delivered on the 22nd of January, recommended "the consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and resources of the British empire." The address was moved by Lord Tyrone, who thus stamped for himself an eternal impression on the annals of Ireland. He was the eldest son of the Marquis of Waterford, a haughty nobleman, possessed of that

local influence which rank, extensive connections, unlimited patronage, and ostentatious establishments are almost certain to acquire: inflated with aristocratic pride and blinded by egotism, he became the instrument of Lord Clare's ambition, whilst he conceived he was only gratifying his own. Lord Clare, at that period, had covered the surface of the nation with the partisans of the Beresfords, and no family, except that of Fitzgibbon, had ever possessed so many high and lucrative employments; they had no talent, no public services, no political honesty, which entitled them to the authority they exercised over their sovereign and country.

Lord Tyrone, the automaton of Lord Clare, possessed very plain manners, an open countenance, a slothful uncultivated mind, and he was unsusceptible of any refined impressions, or patriotic feelings; the example of his relations gave him no stimulus beyond that of lucrative patronage; whatever were his individual opinions upon the Union, his vapid, disingenuous, and arrogant speech evinced that he was not calculated to give weight to his family: his speech had been written by his friends, and, concealing it in the crown of his hat, he took a glance at it when at a loss: the exhibition, on such a subject, was too disgusting to be ridiculous: Lord Clare, on this occasion, exhibited the voracity of his ambition. The ancient and proud house of Beresford were, on that night, cringing as the vassals of an arrogant and splendid upstart.

The address was seconded by Mr. Robert Fitzgerald, of Corkbeg, an elderly country gentleman; he had an honest character, blunt, candid manners, and though he had not talent he could deliver himself with some strength, and with the appearance of sincerity; his speech on this occasion was short and feeble; he had been artfully seduced as a lure to

the country gentlemen by Lord Cornwallis's assuring him that, in the event of the Union, a royal dock-yard would be built near Cork, which would double the value of his estates*.

Mr. Plunket was sincere; his spirit was roused, his talents were concentrated, and his eloquence was irresistible.

The act of Union, upon every principle, must, as a law, be unequivocally rejected—as an Irish statute, it was unconstitutional and a nullity—as an Irish resolution, it was sullenly submitted to. A small majority of the representatives of Ireland exceeded their delegation, and a great proportion of that majority palpably sold their delegation. The Union, therefore, was a revolution; it cannot be repealed. The Irish Parliament no longer exists, and the Imperial Parliament has no more right to separate than the Irish Parliament had to unite the two countries. This new constitution has been in force twenty-eight years without scarcely exciting an observation. Hardly a feature of the constitution of 1782 remains, and any rash attempt to separate the countries must, inevitably, terminate in the ruin of one or both. In 1782, I considered the constitution then obtained to be a revolution; and I have always viewed the Union as a counter-revolution. That the Parliament was incompetent to entertain the question of the Union, was the opinion of Mr. Saurin, since Attorney-General; Serjeant Ball, the ablest lawyer of Ireland; Mr. Fitzgerald, Prime Serjeant of Ireland; Mr. Moore, now a Judge; Sir John Parnell, then Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Bushe, now Chief Justice; and Lord Oriel, the then Speaker of the House of Commons. Nearly every

* For the prominent speeches of the debate, *vide* Appendix.

unbribed member of the learned profession adopted the doctrine of which Mr. Plunket was so able an organ. Lord Glenbervie, in his famous speech in favour of the Union, in the English House of Commons, in 1800, expressed his surprise that Messrs. Saurin, Plunket, and Barrington, could reason upon so untenable a position. He admitted our sincerity, but considered us not very clear in our intellects. His own speech, which was splendidly printed, was extremely heavy. The Irish Union materially changed the representation of England, and altered the letter and spirit of the Scotch treaty—Ireland, however, was alone disfranchised.

Mr. John Ball, Member for Drogheda, who followed Mr. Plunket in the debate, was the ablest lawyer of his day, and one of the purest characters, public and private, that had ever flourished in Ireland; amiable and consistent in every station and in every capacity, combining spirit and mildness, fortitude and moderation;—he was cast in one of the finest moulds of friendship and patriotism. During his progress from comparative obscurity to the attachment and highest esteem of his profession, and of the public, he evinced an independence above temptation. Though the ablest lawyer of his day, he was, therefore, passed over in all Lord Clare's promotions.

The appointment of Mr. Ponsonby to the Chancery Bench changed the system of Government. He was too high-minded not to patronize talent or to admire independence; and Mr. Ball was promptly surprised by a letter from the Chancellor, announcing his appointment as a serjeant, and that he was designated for the highest law offices, as they should become vacant. But Mr. Ponsonby was not long in power; and Mr. Ball sunk under his unceasing and intense application to a practice exceeding

Engraved by J. Heath from an original Drawing by Comerford in possession of Sir Jonah Barrington

JOHN BALL, ESQ.

His Majesty's second Sergeant at Law in Ireland.

Published March 1 1811, by C. Robinson Paternoster Row London.

all precedent at the Irish bar. He left Ireland, in many points, without a successor.

He was elected Member of Parliament for Drogheda, solely through the personal attachment of its inhabitants. His language, in general monotonous, on this occasion of the Union rose to a far higher level. In every point he supported Mr. Plunket's arguments, and in uncompromising language denied the competence of the Commons' House to entertain the question.

A remarkable incident in that night's debate occurred in the conduct of Mr. Trench, of Woodlaw, afterwards created Lord Ashtown. This was the most palpable, undisguised act of public tergiversation and seduction ever exhibited in a popular assembly. It was the subject of many speeches and of many publications.

It was suspected that Mr. Trench had been long in negociation with Lord Castlereagh, but they did not in the early part of that night appear to have been brought to any conclusion—his conditions were supposed to be too extravagant. Mr. Trench, after some preliminary observations, declared in a speech that he would vote on that debate against the Minister, and for Mr. Ponsonby's amendment*. This appeared a stunning blow to Mr. Cooke, who had been previously in conversation with Mr. Trench; and it was perceived by every body that the result was not satisfactory. Mr. Cooke was immediately observed sideling from his seat nearer to Lord Castlereagh. They whispered earnestly, and, as if restless and undecided, both looked wistfully towards Mr. Trench. At length the

* *Vide* Appendix.

matter was determined on. Mr. Cooke went to a back seat, and was obviously endeavouring to count the house—probably to guess if they could that night dispense with Mr. Trench's services. He returned to Lord Castlereagh—they whispered—again looked most affectionately at Mr. Trench, who seemed unconscious that he was the subject of their consideration. But there was no time to lose—the question was approaching—all shame was banished—they decided on the terms, and a significant and certain glance, obvious to every body, convinced Mr. Trench that his conditions were agreed to. Mr. Cooke then went and sat down by his side; an earnest but very short conversation took place; a parting smile completely told the house that Mr. Trench was that moment satisfied. These surmises were soon verified. Mr. Cooke went back to Lord Castlereagh—a congratulatory nod announced his satisfaction. But could any man for one moment suppose that a Member of Parliament, a man of very large fortune, of respectable family, and good character, could be publicly, and without shame or compunction, actually seduced by Lord Castlereagh, in the very body of the house, and under the eye of two hundred and twenty gentlemen? Yet this was the fact. In a few minutes Mr. Trench rose to apologize, for having indiscreetly declared he would support the amendment. He added, that he had thought better of the subject since he had unguardedly expressed himself; that he had been convinced he was wrong, and would support the Minister. Scarcely was there a member of any party who was not disgusted; but it had, however, the effect intended by the desperate purchaser, of proving that Ministers would stop at nothing to effect their objects, however shameless or corrupt. This purchase of Mr. Trench, however, had a much more fatal effect upon the destinies of Ireland.

His change of sides, and the majority of one to which it contributed, were probably the remote causes of persevering in a Union. Mr. Trench's venality, likewise, excited indignation in the friends of Ireland, and prepared them for the next night's debate, which it was then supposed would terminate the subject*.

Another circumstance that night shows by what means Lord Castlereagh's majority of even *one* was acquired.

The Place Bill, so long and so pertinaciously sought for, and so indiscreetly framed by the Whigs of Ireland, now, for the first time, proved the very engine by which the Minister annihilated the Constitution. The bill enacted, that Members accepting offices, places, or pensions, during the pleasure of the Crown, should not sit in Parliament unless re-elected; but, unfortunately, the Bill made no distinction between valuable and nominal offices, and the Chiltern Hundreds of England were, under the title of the Escheatorships of Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, &c., transferred to Ireland, with salaries of forty shillings, to be used at pleasure by the Secretary. Occasional and temporary seats were thus bartered for by Government.

Mr. Luke Fox, a barrister of very humble origin, of vulgar manners, and of a coarse, harsh appearance, was endued with a clear, strong, and acute mind, and was possessed of much cunning. He had acquired very

* Had Mr. Fox and Mr. Trench voted as they professed, a majority of three would have appeared in favour of Mr. Ponsonby's amendment; and Englishmen will scarcely credit that any Government could, with a majority against them, have presumed to persevere in their subversion of the Constitution.

considerable legal information, and was an obstinate and persevering advocate; he had been the usher of a school, and a sizer in Dublin University, but neither politics nor the belles-lettres, were his pursuit. On acquiring eminence at the bar, he married an obscure niece of the Earl of Ely's; he had originally professed what was called whiggism, merely, as people supposed, because his name was Fox. His progress was impeded by no political principles, but he kept his own secrets well, and being a man of no importance, it was perfectly indifferent to everybody what side he took. Lord Ely, perceiving he was manageable, returned him to Parliament as one of his automata; and Mr. Fox played his part very much to the satisfaction of his manager. When the Union was announced, Lord Ely had not made his terms, and remained long in abeyance; and as his Lordship had not issued his orders to Mr. Fox, he was very unwilling to commit himself until he could dive deeper into probabilities; but rather believing the opposition would have the majority, he remained in the body of the House with the Anti-Unionists, when the division took place. The doors were scarcely locked, when he became alarmed, and slunk, unperceived, into one of the dark corridors, where he concealed himself: he was, however, discovered, and the serjeant-at-arms was ordered to bring him forth, to be counted amongst the Anti-Unionists—his confusion was very great, and he seemed at his wit's-end—at length he declared he had taken advantage of the Place Bill; had actually accepted the Escheatorship of Munster, and had thereby vacated his seat, and could not vote. The fact was doubted, but after much discussion, his excuse, upon his honour, was admitted, and he was allowed to return into the corridor. On the numbers being counted, there was a

majority of ONE for Lord Castlereagh; and, but for this unit, the measure would have been negatived by the Speaker's vote, and the renewal of it the next day have been prevented: this would have been a most important victory.

The mischief of the Place Bill now stared its framers in the face, and gave the Secretary a code of instruction how to arrange a Parliament against the ensuing session.

To render the circumstance still more extraordinary and unfortunate, it was subsequently discovered, by the public records, that Mr. Fox's assertion was false; but the following day Lord Castlereagh purchased him outright; and then, and not before, appointed him to the nominal office of Escheator of Munster, and left the seat of Lord Ely for another of his creatures; whilst Mr. Fox, before he declared his politics, had got himself returned for the seat of an Anti-Unionist; and, when returned, voted directly for the Union*. This is mentioned, not only as one of the most reprehensible public acts committed during the discussion, but because it was the primary cause of the measure being persisted in.

The exultations of the public on this disappointment of the Minister knew no bounds; they reflected not that, next day, a new debate must endanger their ambiguous triumph. The national character of the Irish, during both the 23rd and 24th, displayed itself in full vigour.

The debate upon the report of the address, and the pertinacity which urged the Government to a second combat, soon roused them from their dream of security.

* He was afterwards made a Judge of the Common Pleas.

The perturbation of all ranks indicated a more than ordinary indignation at the ministerial perseverance in a measure so decidedly against the opinion of the nation, and unsupported by the independent or honest portion of the Parliament.

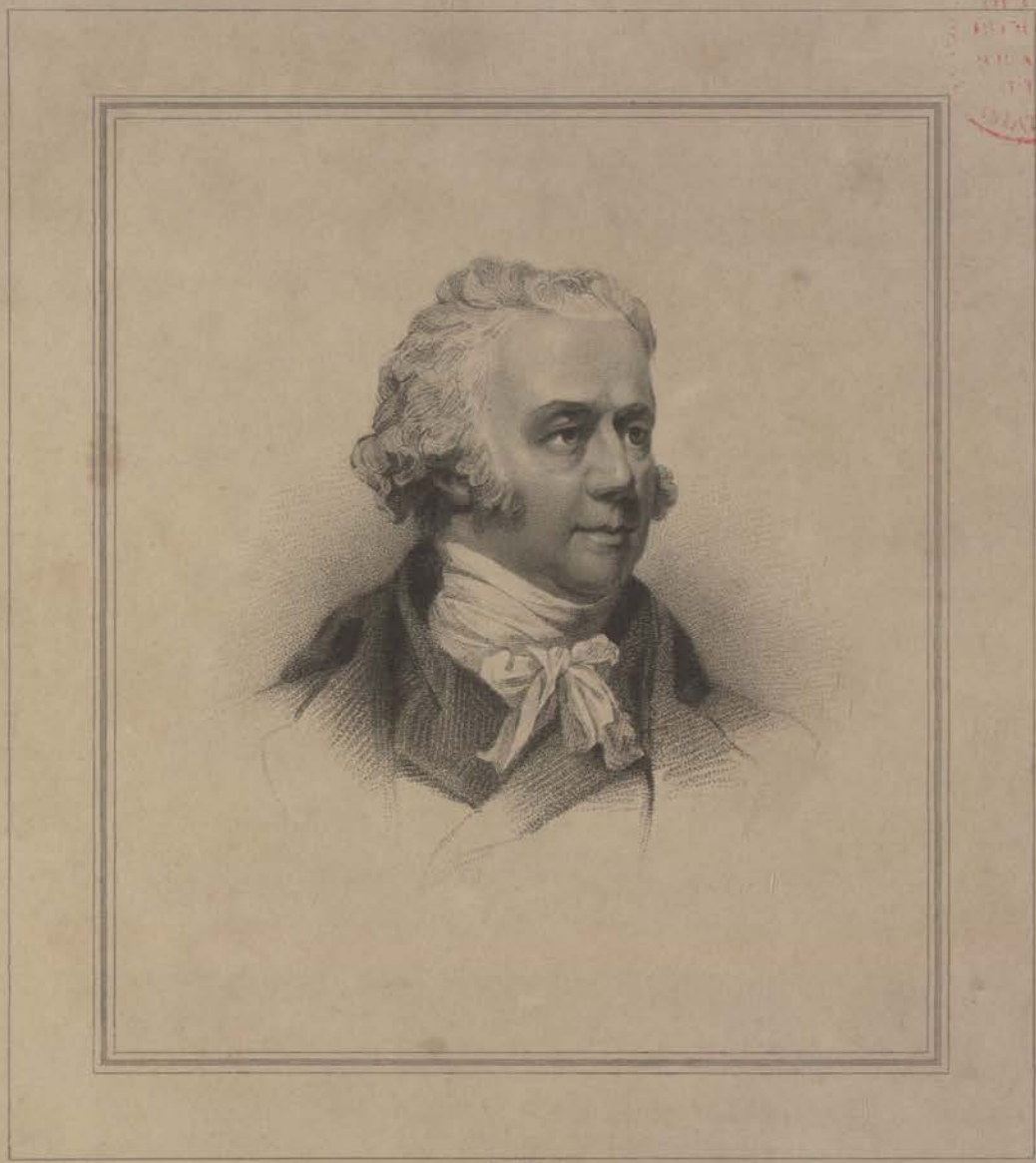
Both parties stood in a difficult and precarious predicament: the Minister had not time to gain ground by the usual practices of the Secretary; and the question must have been either totally relinquished or again discussed. The Opposition were, as yet, uncertain how far the last debate might cause any numerical alteration in their favour; each party calculated on a small majority, and it was considered that a defeat would be equally ruinous to either.

It was supposed that the Minister would, according to all former precedent, withdraw from his situation, if left in a minority, whilst an increased majority, however small, against the Anti-Unionists, might give plausible grounds for future discussions*.

The people collected in vast multitudes around the House; a strong sensation was everywhere perceptible; immense numbers of ladies of distinction crowded, at an early hour, into the galleries, and by their presence and their gestures animated that patriotic spirit, upon the prompt energy of which alone depended the fate of Ireland.

Secret messengers were despatched in every direction, to bring in loitering or reluctant members—every emissary that Government could rely upon was busily employed the entire morning; and five-and-thirty

* Sir Robert Walpole, on a comparatively unimportant question, resigned his office because he had only a majority of thirty. Lord Castlereagh retained his with a minority of six.



Heath sculp.

Mr. SECRETARY COOKE.

Published, March 1, 1818, by G. Robinson, Paternoster Row, London.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

minutes after four o'clock, in the afternoon of the 24th of January, 1799, the House met to decide the question of national independence or annihilation*. Within the corridors of the House, a shameless and unprecedented alacrity appeared among the friends of Government.

Mr. Cooke, the under Secretary, who, throughout all the subsequent stages of the question, was the private and efficient actuary of the Parliamentary seduction, on this night exceeded even himself, both in his public and private exertions to gain over the wavering Members. Admiral Thomas Pakenham, a brave, friendly, and good-hearted gentleman, that night acted like a captain of a press gang, and actually *hauled* in some Members who were desirous of retiring. He had declared that he would act in any capacity, according to the exigencies of his party; and he did not shrink from his task.

A Mr. Marshall, of the Secretary's office (not a Member), forgot all decorum, and disgraced the cause by his exploits about the entrances of the House. Others acted as keepers in the coffee-room; and no Member who could be seduced, intimidated, or deceived, could possibly escape the nets that were extended to secure him.

Nor did the leaders of Opposition remain inactive; but the attendance of their friends being voluntary, was, of course, precarious. The exertions of Mr. Bowes Daly and others were, however, strenuous.

At length, a hot and open canvass, by the friends of Government,

* The prayers read that day, as usual, in the House of Commons, made a strange impression on me; doubtful of results, I was certainly an enthusiast at the moment, and the solemnity of the service brought to mind forebodings, as if it was the last sacrament of a culprit; it was a silly but a very painful augury.

was perceived, wherever an uncertain or reluctant Member could be found, or his connexions discovered.

The debate commenced about seven o'clock, and terminated by a majority of six against the Government. Silence prevailed in the galleries; but an indecent confusion and noise ran through the corridors, and frequently excited surprise and alarm at its continuance: it was the momentous canvass—it was rude, and sometimes boisterous.

The Speaker at length took his chair, and his cry of "Order! order!" obtained a profound silence. Dignified and peremptory, he was seldom disobeyed; and a chairman more despotic, from his wisdom and the respect and affection of the members of every side, never presided over a popular assembly.

Prayers commenced—all was in a moment gloomy and decorous, and a deep solemnity corresponded with the vital importance of the subject they were to determine.

This debate, in point of warmth, much exceeded the former. Lord Castlereagh was silent; his eye ran round the assembly, as if to ascertain his situation, and was often withdrawn with a look of uncertainty and disappointment. The numbers had a little increased since the last division, principally by Members who had not declared themselves, and of whose opinions the Secretary was ignorant.

Lord Castlereagh, however, wincing under his negative castigations of the former evening, had now determined to act upon the offensive, and give, by his example, more spirit and zeal to his followers than they had hitherto exhibited. It was his only course, and though inoperative it was ably attempted.

The debate, however, had hardly commenced, when he was assailed as if by a storm. Several Members rose at once to tell the Secretary their opinions of his merits—a personal hostility appeared palpable between the parties; the subject and arguments were the same as those of the preceding night, but they were accompanied much more by individual allusions.

Sir John Parnell, late Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had been dismissed for refusing to support a Union, opened the debate. He spoke with great ability; he plainly avowed his opinion that it was a revolutionary change of the Constitution, which the Parliament had no power to enact, and to which the King could not, consistently with his Coronation Oath, give the royal assent.

Mr. Tighe, of Wicklow, followed, and delivered his sentiments against the measure in the same terms, and with equal decision. Mr. George Ponsonby arose to move an amendment, negativing the address as far as it alluded to a Union.

When Mr. George Ponsonby was roused, he had great debating powers: on minor subjects he was often vapid, but on this occasion he far exceeded himself in argument, elocution, and in fortitude. He was sincere —his blood warmed—he reasoned with a force, a boldness, and with an absence of all reserve, which he never before had so energetically exhibited. As a lawyer, a statesman, and a loyal Irish subject, he denied that either the Lords or the Commons, or the King of Ireland, had the power of passing or assenting to a Legislative Union. He avowed his opinion that the measure was revolutionary, and would run the destructive lengths of endangering the compact between the crown and the subjects, and the connexion of the two nations.

It is scarcely to be imagined what an effect such a speech, from a calm, discreet, and loyal man, a constitutional lawyer, and representative of a high aristocratic family, produced in that House. It was, in point of extent and powers, unexpected from so calm a character; and the impression, therefore, was proportionably greater.

The words, as he spoke them, were imbibed by every man who was a free agent in Parliament. In the course of his speech, he assailed Lord Castlereagh with a strength and unreserved severity which greatly exceeded the usual bounds of his philippics.

Cool and deliberate irony, ten times more piercing than the sharpest satire, flowed from his lips, in a slow rolling flood of indignant denunciation. His calm language never for one moment yielded to his warm impressions; and it was doubly formidable, from being restrained by prudence and dictated by conviction.

During Mr. Ponsonby's oration, a very impressive scene was exhibiting on the Treasury Bench. Lord Castlereagh had been anticipated—he seemed to be astounded—he moved restlessly on his seat—he became obviously disconcerted, whispered to those who sat near him, and appeared more sensitive than he had ever been on any public occasion.

As Mr. Ponsonby advanced, the Secretary became more affected; occasionally he rose to interrupt; and when Mr. Ponsonby ceased, he appeared to be struggling with violent emotions: but he was unable to suppress the poignancy of his feelings, and he writhed under the castigation. His face flushed—his eyes kindled—and, for the first time in that House, he appeared to be rising into a high state of agitation. Mr. Ponsonby, who stood directly before him, formed an admirable contrast: not a feature

moved—not a muscle was disturbed; his small gray eyes, rivetted upon his adversary, expressed contempt and superiority more eloquently than language; and with these cool and scornful glances, which are altogether indescribable, Mr. Ponsonby, unperturbed, listened to a reply which raised Lord Castlereagh highly in the estimation of his adherents.

He had that morning decided on a course which the experience of the former evening had induced him to think might terminate the debate in favour of the Government. He had resolved to act on the offensive, and, by an extravagant invective against the principles of the Anti-Unionists, detach some of the country gentlemen from a party which he intended to paint as an anarchial faction; and this course might also, by holding up to his supporters a proper ministerial contempt for all public opinion, put down patriotic declamation. His object was likewise to create a ministerial contempt of public opinion, from which the opponents of a Union derived so much strength and importance. On these grounds he had decided to act himself, and, for the same reasons, to encourage a simultaneous attack upon the principles and conduct of the leading Members.

For this species of conflict the youthful Minister was admirably adapted. He had sufficient firmness to advance, and sufficient pertinacity to persist in any assertion. Never had he more occasion to exert all his powers; nor did he fail in his efforts. In his reply there was no assertion he did not risk—no circumstance he did not vouch for—no aspersion he did not cast; and he even went lengths which he afterwards repented. To the Bar, he applied the term "pettifoggers;" to the Opposition, "cabal—combinators—desperate faction;" and to the nation itself,

" barbarism—ignorance," and " insensibility to the protection and paternal " regards she had *ever* experienced from the British nation." His speech was severe beyond any thing he had ever uttered within the walls of Parliament, and far exceeded the powers he was supposed to possess. He raked up every act of Mr. Ponsonby's political career, and handled it with a masterly severity; but it was in the tone and in the manner of an angry gentleman. He had flown at the highest game, and his opponent (never off his guard) attended to his Lordship with a contemptuous and imperturbable placidity, which frequently gave Mr. Ponsonby a great advantage over warmer debaters. On this occasion he seemed not at all to feel the language of Lord Castlereagh; he knew that he had provoked it, and he saw that he had spoken effectually by the irritation of his opponent.

Lord Castlereagh was greatly exhausted, and Mr. Ponsonby, turning round, audibly observed, with a frigid smile and an air of utter indifference, —" the ravings of an irritated youth—it was very natural."

This was one of the most important personal conflicts during the discussions of the Union, and it had a very powerful effect, at least, on the spirit of his Lordship's followers. Truth was unimportant to him: on personal attacks, his misrepresentations might honourably be retracted at convenient opportunities. He had no public character to forfeit; and a majority of his supporters were similarly circumstanced. Prompt personal hostility, therefore, was the line he had that morning decided on; and it was the most politic step a minister so circumstanced could adopt. When vicious measures are irrevocably chosen, obtrusive compunction should instantly be banished. He determined to reject every consideration but that of increasing his majority, but was routed by the very course he

Engraved by J. Heath from an original Drawing by Comerford in Possession of Sir Jonah Barrington.

LAWRENCE PARSONS EARL OF ROSS

Published June 1, 1810, by G. Robinson, Paternoster Row, London.

had calculated on to ensure a victory. The foresight of Mr. Ponsonby had penetrated through his policy, and showed him that, to counteract the enemy, he should become the assailant, seize the very position his adversary had selected, and anticipate the very line on which he had determined to try the battle.

The discussion now proceeded with extraordinary asperity; but the influence of the speaker, with a few exceptions, preserved the Members in tolerable order: it was often difficult to determine which side transgressed the most. Mr. Arthur Moore on this night took a decided part; and Mr. Egan trampled down the metaphorical sophistries of Mr. William Smith, as to the competence of Parliament—such reasoning he called rubbish, and such reasoners were scavengers—like a dray horse he galloped over all his opponents, plunging and kicking, and overthrowing all before him. No Member on that night pronounced a more sincere, clumsy, powerful oration—of matter he had abundance—of language he made no selection; and he was aptly compared to the Trojan horse, sounding as if he had armed men within him.

Never was there a more unfortunate quotation for the Government than one made by Mr. Serjeant Stanly from Judge Blackstone.

The dictum of a puisne Judge, in a British court of law, was cited, to influence the opinion of 300 Members in the Irish Parliament, on the subject of their own annihilation.

The debate continued with undiminished animation and hostility until ten o'clock on the morning of the 24th, when Sir Laurence Parsons (Lord Rosse) supported Mr. Ponsonby in a speech luminous, and in some parts almost sublime. He had caught the flame which his colleague had but

kindled, and blazed with an eloquence of which he had shown but few examples—the impression was powerful.

Mr. Frederic Falkiner, Member for Dublin County, who immediately followed, was one of the most remarkable instances of inflexible public integrity in Ireland: he would have been a valuable acquisition to the Government, but nothing could corrupt him. Week after week he was ineffectually tempted through his friends, by a peerage or aught he might desire; he replied: "I am poor, 'tis true; but no human power, no "reward, no torture, no elevation, shall ever tempt me to betray my "country—never mention to me again so infamous a proposal." He was, however, afterwards treated ungratefully by the very constituents whom he had obeyed, and died a victim to poverty and patriotism.

Mr. James Fitzgerald had been dismissed from the office of prime serjeant, the highest at the bar, for refusing to relinquish his independence. He scorned to retain it under circumstances of dishonour, and on this night spoke at great length, and with a train of reasoning which must have been decisive in an uncorrupted assembly: he refused every offer, and never returned to office*.

Colonel Maxwell (Lord Farnham), Mr. Lee (Waterford), Mr. Barrington, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and many others, pressed forward to deliver their sentiments against so fatal a project. Every

* No man in Ireland was more sincere in his opposition to a Union than Mr. Fitzgerald; he was the first who declared his intention of writing its history.

He afterwards relinquished the design and urged me to commence it—he handed me the prospectus of what he intended, and no man in Ireland knew the occult details of that proceeding better than he. He is the father of Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald; had a very good fortune, and was one of the most successful and persevering lawyers that ever practised in Ireland.

moment the debate grew warmer, and the determination to oppose it became more obvious—the Members of Government were staggered—the storm increased, but Lord Castlereagh was calm; he rose and spoke with a confident assurance peculiar to himself; and particularly disavowed all corruption, though he had dismissed every man who would not promise to support him, and had near seventy subservient placemen at that moment on his side.

At length Mr. Plunket arose, and, in the ablest speech ever heard by any Member in that Parliament, went at once to the grand and decisive point—the incompetence of Parliament: he could go no further on principle than Mr. Ponsonby, but his language was irresistible, and he left nothing to be urged. It was perfect in eloquence, and unanswerable in reasoning. Its effect was indescribable; and, for the first time, Lord Castlereagh, whom he personally assailed, seemed to shrink from the encounter. That speech was of great weight, and a few sentences may serve to prove its eloquence, and the sincerity and fortitude of the speaker*.

But a short speech on that night, which gave a new sensation, and excited novel observations, was a maiden speech by Colonel O'Donnell, of Newport (Mayo County). He was the eldest son of Sir Neil O'Donnell, a man of very large fortune in that county, and commanded the Mayo regiment. He was a brave officer, and a well-bred gentleman; and in all the situations of life he showed good qualities. On this night, roused by Lord Castlereagh's invectives, he could not contain his indignation; and by anticipation "disclaimed his allegiance if a Union were effected: he "held it as a revolution, to be opposed by every loyalist, and avowed that

* *Vide* Appendix.

" he would take the field at the head of his regiment to oppose its " execution, and would resist rebels in rich clothes as he had done the " rebels in rags*."

As a contrast to the language of Colonel O'Donnell, it is curious to observe the new exhibition of Mr. Trench, of Woodlaw. He was not satisfied with the disgusting exhibition of the preceding night, but again introduced himself to a notice which common modesty would have avoided. He now entered into a defence of his former tergiversation, and, most unfortunately for himself, contradicted distinctly the substance of both his former speeches. He thus solved all the doubts which might have arisen as to his former conduct, closed the mouth of every friend from any possibility of defending him, and delivered himself, without reserve, into the hands of his seducers. He said, " he had, since the night before, been " fully convinced of the advantages of a Union, and would certainly " support it." The Irish Peerage was soon *honoured* by his addition as Lord Ashtown.

The question was loudly called for by the Opposition, who were now tolerably secure of a majority: above sixty Members had spoken; the subject was exhausted, and all parties seemed equally impatient. The House divided, and the Opposition withdrew to the Court of Requests. It is not easy to conceive, still less to describe, the anxiety of this moment: a considerable delay took place. Mr. Ponsonby and Sir Laurence Parsons were at length named tellers for the amendment; Mr. W. Smith and Lord Tyrone for the address. One hundred and eleven Members had declared

* *Vide* Appendix.

Engraved by J. Heath from an original Drawing by Amerhoot in possession of Sir Jonah Barrington

JOHN EGAN, ESQR. K.C.

Chairman of Killmainham

Published March 1. 1811, by C. Robinson, Paternoster Row, London.

against the Union, and when the doors were opened, one hundred and five was discovered to be the total number of the Minister's adherents. The gratification of the Anti-Unionists was unbounded; and as they walked deliberately in, one by one, to be counted, the eager spectators, ladies as well as gentlemen, leaning over the galleries, ignorant of the result, were panting with expectation. Lady Castlereagh, then one of the finest women of the court, appeared in the serjeant's box, palpitating for her husband's fate. The desponding appearance and fallen crests of the Ministerial Benches, and the exulting air of the Opposition Members as they entered, were intelligible*. The murmurs of suppressed anxiety would have excited an interest even in the most unconnected stranger, who had known the objects and importance of the contest. How much more, therefore, must every Irish breast which panted in the galleries have experienced that thrilling enthusiasm which accompanies the achievement of patriotic actions, when the Minister's defeat was announced from

* Mr. Egan, Chairman of Dublin County, a coarse, large, bluff, red-faced Irishman [see his portrait—a perfect likeness], was the last who entered. His exultation knew no bounds; as No. 110 was announced, he stopped a moment at the Bar, flourished a great stick which he had in his hand over his head, and with the voice of a Stentor cried out—"And I'm a hundred and eleven!" He then sat quietly down, and burst out into an immoderate and almost convulsive fit of laughter;—it was all heart: he continued shaking hands with every body that came near him, till the House adjourned. Never was there a finer picture of genuine patriotism—there was no man in the House seemed so delighted. He was very far from being rich, and had an offer of some thousands a-year to vote for a Union; he refused it with indignation: on any other subject he would have supported the Government freely, and have been very well contented with a more moderate appointment.

the chair! A due sense of respect and decorum restrained the galleries within proper bounds; but a low cry of satisfaction from the female audience could not be prevented, and no sooner was the event made known out of doors, than the crowds that had waited during the entire night, with increasing impatience, for the vote which was to decide upon the independence of their country, sent forth loud and reiterated shouts of exultation, which, resounding through the corridors and penetrating to the body of the House, added to the triumph of the conquerors, and to the misery of the adherents of the Minister.

The numbers on this division were—

For omitting the clause	111
For Lord Tyrone's address	105
Majority against Government	6

On this debate, the Members who voted were circumstanced as follows:—

Members holding offices during pleasure	69
Members rewarded by offices for their votes	19
Member *openly* seduced in the *body of the House*	1
Commoners created peers, or their wives peeresses	13
	102
Supposed to be uninfluenced	3
The House composed of	300
Voted that night	216
Absent Members	84

Of which number Lord Castlereagh was enabled to seduce forty-three during the prorogation; and by *that* acquisition out-voted the Anti-Unionists on the 5th of February, 1800.

The members were preparing to withdraw, when Mr. Ponsonby requested they would continue a very few minutes, as he had business of the utmost importance for their consideration: this immediately produced a profound silence; Mr. Ponsonby then, in a few words, "congratulated "the House and the country on the honest and patriotic assertion of their "liberties; but declared, that he considered there would be no security "against future attempts to overthrow their independence, but by a direct "and absolute declaration of the rights of Irishmen, recorded upon their "journals, as the decided sense of the people, through their Parliament; "and he, therefore, without further preface, moved, '*That this House* "'*will ever maintain the undoubted birthright of Irishmen, by preserving* "'*an independent Parliament of Lords and Commons, resident in this* "'*Kingdom*, as stated and approved by His Majesty and the British "'Parliament in 1782.'"

Lord Castlereagh, conceiving resistance to be impracticable, only said, "that he considered such a motion of the most dangerous tendency; "however, if the House were determined on it, he begged to declare his "entire dissent, and on their own heads be the consequences of so wrong "and inconsiderate a measure." No further opposition was made by Government; and the Speaker putting the question, a loud cry of approbation followed, with but two negatives, those of Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Toler (Lord Norbury)—the motion was carried, and the Members

were rising to withdraw, when the Speaker called to Mr. Ponsonby, to *write* down his motion accurately; he, accordingly, walked to the table to write it down. This delay of a few moments, unimportant as it might seem in the common course of human occurrences, was an incident which, ultimately, deranged the constitution of an empire, and annihilated the legislature of an independent nation—a single moment, the most critical that ever occurred in history; and, of all the events of Ireland, the most fatal and irretrievable.

This may teach posterity, that the destinies of nations are governed by the same chances, subject to the same fatalities, and affected by the same misfortunes, as those of the humblest individual.

Whilst Mr. Ponsonby was writing his motion, every Member, in profound silence, was observing the sensations of the opposite party, and conjecturing the feelings and anticipating the conduct of the adversaries.

This motion involved, in one sentence, every thing which was sought after by the one party and dreaded by the other; its adoption must have ruined the Minister and dismissed the Irish Government. The Treasury Bench held a mournful silence—the Attorney-General, Mr. Toler, alone appeared to bear his impending misfortune with a portion of that ease and playfulness which never forsook him.

On Mr. Ponsonby's handing up his motion, he stood firm and collected, and looked around him with the honest confidence of a man who had performed his duty and saved his country—the silence of death prevailed in the galleries, and the whole assembly displayed a spectacle as solemn and important as any country or any era had ever exhibited.

The Speaker put the question—" the ayes" burst forth into a loud peal—the gallery was in immediate motion—all was congratulation. On the question being put the second time (as was usual), a still louder and more reiterated cry of " aye, aye," resounded from every quarter: only two negatives were heard, feebly, from the ministerial side—Government had given up the contest, and the independence of Ireland was on the very verge of permanent security, when Mr. William Charles Fortescue, Member for Louth county, requested to be heard before the final decision was announced.

He said, " that he was adverse to the measure of a legislative Union, " and had given his decided vote against it, but he did not wish to " bind himself for *ever*; *possible* circumstances might hereafter occur, " which might render that measure expedient for the empire, and he did " not approve of any determination which for *ever* closed the doors against " any possibility of future discussion."

The Opposition were paralyzed—the Government were roused—a single sentence plausibly conceived (and, without reflecting on its destructive consequence), moderately uttered, by a respectable man, and an avowed Anti-Unionist, eventually decided the fate of the Irish nation. It offered a pretext for timidity, a precedent for caution, and a subterfuge for wavering venality.

Mr. French, of Roscommon, a country gentleman of high character, and Lord Cole, a young nobleman of an honest, inconsiderate mind, who had, on the last division, voted sincerely against the Minister, now, without a moment's reflection on the ruin which must necessarily attend every diversity of sentiment in a party associated by only one tie and bound together only upon one subject, declared themselves of Mr. Fortescue's

opinion. Mr. John Claudius Beresford*, who had only been restrained from adhesion to the Clare connection by being representative of the metropolis, avowed himself of the same determination; and thus that constitutional security, which a direct and peremptory declaration of indefeasible rights, one moment before, was on the point of permanently establishing, was, by the inconsiderate and temporising words of one feeble-minded Member, lost for ever. It is impossible to express the surprise and disappointment of the Anti-Unionists.

To be defeated by the effort of an enemy was to be borne, but to fall by the secession of a friend was insupportable. The narrow jealousies and unconnected materials of the Anti-Unionists were no longer to be concealed, either from friends or enemies. Mr. Ponsonby felt the critical situation of the country—the Opposition had but a majority of five on the first division, three seceders would have given a majority to Government, and a division could not be risked.

Mr. Ponsonby's presence of mind instantly suggested the only remaining alternative. He lamented " that the smallest contrariety of opinion should " have arisen amongst men who ought to be united by the most powerful " of all inducements, the salvation of their independence. He perceived, " however, a wish that he should not press the motion, founded, he supposed, " on a mistaken confidence in the engagements of the Noble Lord (Lord " Castlereagh) *that he would not again bring forward that ruinous*

* Mr. John Claudius Beresford, though he could not vote against the instructions of the *City*, took every opportunity of expressing, incidentally, his *entire confidence* in the fair intentions of *Lord Castlereagh's government;* and never appeared to be really sincere in his opposition to a Union—his speech is a fine specimen of temporizing.—*Vide* Appendix.

" *measure without the decided approbation of the people and of the* " *Parliament.* Though he must doubt the sincerity of the Minister's " engagements, he could not hesitate to acquiesce in the wishes of his " friends, and he would therefore withdraw his motion."

The sudden transition from exultation to despondency became instantly apparent by the dead silence which followed Mr. Ponsonby's declaration—the change was so rapid and so unexpected, that from the galleries, which a moment before were full of congratulation and of pleasure, not a single word was heard—crest fallen and humbled, many instantly withdrew from the scene, and though the people without knew of nothing but their victory, the retreat was a subject of the most serious solicitude to every friend of Irish independence.

Such an advantage could not escape the anxious eye of Government, chagrin and disappointment had changed sides, and the friends of the Union, who a moment before had considered their measure as nearly extinguished, rose upon their success, retorted in their turn, and opposed its being withdrawn. It was, however, too tender a ground for either party to insist upon a division—a debate was equally to be avoided, and the motion was suffered to be withdrawn. Sir Henry Cavendish keenly and sarcastically remarked, that " it was a retreat after a victory." After a day's and a night's debate without intermission, the House adjourned at eleven o'clock the ensuing morning.

Upon the rising of the House, the populace became tumultuous, and a violent disposition against those who had supported the Union was manifest, not only amongst the common people, but amongst those of a much higher class, who had been mingling with them.

On the Speaker coming out of the House, the horses were taken from his carriage, and he was drawn in triumph through the streets by the people, who conceived the whimsical idea of tackling the Lord Chancellor to the coach, and (as a captive general in a roman triumph) forcing him to tug at the chariot of his conqueror.

Had it been effected, it would have been a signal anecdote, and would, at least, have immortalized the classic genius of the Irish.

The populace closely pursued his Lordship for that extraordinary purpose; he escaped with great difficulty, and fled, with a pistol in his hand, to a receding door-way in Clarendon Street. But the people, who pursued him in sport, set up a loud laugh at him, as he stood terrified against the door; they offered him no personal violence, and returned in high glee to their more innocent amusement of drawing the Speaker.

A scene of joy and triumph appeared universal—every countenance had a smile, throughout all ranks and classes of the people—men shook their neighbours heartily by the hand, as if the Minister's defeat was an event of individual good fortune—the mob seemed as well disposed to joy as mischief, and that was saying much for a Dublin assemblage. But a view of their enemies, as they came skulking from behind the corridors, occasionally roused them to no very tranquil temperature. Some Members had to try their speed, and others their intrepidity. Mr. Richard Masters, unable to get clear, turned on his hunters, and boldly faced a mob of many thousands, with a small pocket pistol in his hand. He swore most vehemently, that, if they advanced six inches on him, he would immediately "shoot every mother's babe of them—ay, as dead as that paving stone"—(kicking one.) The united spirit and fun of his de-

claration, and his little pocket pistol, aimed at ten thousand men, women, and children, were so entirely to the taste of our Irish populace, that all symptoms of hostility ceased; they gave him three cheers, and he regained his home without further molestation.

Mr. O'Driscol, a gentleman of the Irish Bar, one of the most sincere and active Anti-Unionists, used great and successful efforts to tranquillize the people; and to his persuasions was chiefly to be attributed their peaceable dispersion. In one peculiar instance, he certainly prevented a most atrocious mischief, if not a great crime, by his prompt and spirited interference.

The House of Lords met on the 22nd of January, 1799, the same day as the Commons, to receive the speech of the Viceroy. Though the nation was not unprepared for any instance of its subserviency, some patriotic spirits might reasonably have been expected on so momentous a subject as the Union; in this expectation, however, it was but feebly gratified.

Never did a body of hereditary nobles, many of ancient family, and several of splendid fortune, so disgrace their ancestry.

After an ineffectual resistance by some, whose integrity was invincible, the Irish Lords recorded their own humiliation, and, in a state of absolute infatuation, perpetrated the most extraordinary act of legislative suicide which ever stained the records of a nation.

The reply of the Irish Lords, to the speech of the British Viceroy, coincided in his recommendation, and virtually consented to prostrate themselves and their posterity for ever. The prerogatives of rank, the pride of ancestry, the glory of the peerage, and the rights of the country, were equally sacrificed.

The facility with which the Irish Lords re-echoed their sentence of extinction was quite unexampled.

That stultified facility can only be elucidated by taking a brief statistical view of what was once considered an august assembly, but which the over-bearing influence of the absolute and vindictive Chancellor had for some years reduced to a mere instrument of his ambition.

In the hands of the Chancellor, Lord Clare, the House was powerless —his mere automaton or puppet, which he coerced or humoured according to his ambition or caprice.

There were, however, amongst the Irish nobility, a few men of spirit, pride, talent, and integrity; but they were too few for resistance.

The education of the Irish noblemen of that day was little calculated for debate or Parliamentary duties; they very seldom took any active part in Parliamentary discussions, and more rarely attained to that confidence in public speaking, without which no effect can be produced. They could argue, or might declaim, but were unequal to what is termed debate; and being confirmed in their torpidity by an habitual abstinence from Parliamentary discussions, when the day of danger came they were unequal to the contest.

Lord Clare, on the contrary, from his forensic habits, his dogmatic arrogance, and unrestrained invective, had an incalculable advantage over less practised reasoners. The modest were overwhelmed by flights of astounding rhapsody—the patriotic borne down by calumny—the diffident silenced by contemptuous irony; and nearly the whole of the Peerage, without being able to account for their pusillanimity, were either trampled under his feet, or were mere puppets in the grasp of this all-powerful

Engraved by J. Heath from an original painting in polyphon of Mr. Dickson.

THE REVD. DR. DICKSON L.L.D.

Bishop of Down

Published June 1st 1810, by G. Robinson, Paternoster Row, London.

Engraved by S. Hinch from an Original Painting by Hamilton, in the Dining Room of the Right Hon.ble Henry Bruton.

REV.D DOCTOR MARLAY, L.L.D.

Bishop of Waterford.

Published June 1, 1813, by G. Robinson, Paternoster Row, London.

Chancellor. Such was the state of the Irish Lords in 1799. The extent of Lord Clare's connexions, and the energy of his conduct during the last insurrection, had contributed to render him nearly despotic over both the Government and the country. Dickson, Bishop of Down, and Marlay, Bishop of Limerick, were the only spiritual peers that ventured to oppose him—both were of invincible integrity and undeviating patriotism—his Grace of Limerick was the uncle of Mr. Grattan; and the Bishop of Down was the intimate friend of Mr. Fox: unfortunately, both were too mild, unassuming, and dignified, to contend successfully against so haughty and remorseless an opponent.

The Bishop of Down* was a prelate of the most faultless character—the extreme beauty of his countenance, the gentleness of his manners, and the patriarchal dignity of his figure, rendered him one of the most interesting persons in society.

His talents were considerable, but they were neutralized by his modesty; and he seldom could be prevailed upon to rise in the House of Peers upon political subjects. On this night, however, stung to the quick by the invectives, and indignant at the designs of the Chancellor, he made a reply to him of which he was supposed incapable. Severity from the Bishop of Down was likewise so unusual, that the few sentences he pronounced, stunned the champion more than all the speeches of his more disciplined opponents.

Nothing, however, could overcome the influence of Lord Clare. The Irish Lords lay prostrate before the Government, but the leaders were not

* *Vide* Portrait.

inattentive to their own interests. The defeat of Government in the Commons gave them an importance they had not expected, and determined the leading nobles to share the plunder of their country. It appears on record that nearly £.300,000, levied by taxes on the Irish people, was actually given, in specie, by the Commissioners of Compensation, to Irish noblemen, to secure their support to a Legislative Union, under the false and corrupt pretext of subsequent compensation. The amount of their previous bargains with the Secretary was afterwards paid to them in specie; and what would have been grounds of impeachment against a legislator, was considered as an innocent bribe to the noblemen of Ireland.

The debates and conduct of the Irish peers bear a comparatively unimportant share in the transactions of that epoch, and have but little interest in the memoirs of those times; but the accounts of Lord Annesley, &c., record their corruption*.

It is not the object, therefore, of these anecdotes to dilate more upon the proceedings of that degraded assembly, than incidentally to introduce, as episodes, their individual actions, and to state that a great proportion of the million and a half levied upon Ireland, and distributed by Lord Castlereagh's Commissions of Compensation, went into the pockets of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of Ireland.

* It is supposed that the important part of those records have been suppressed at court; the writer could only trace them to the bureau of Lord Annesley, but never could procure authenticated extracts. It is therefore only from the payments at the Treasury, and the admission of the parties, that the corrupt payments can be substantiated.

CHAPTER XIII.

Effects of the Divisions in Parliament—Lord Corry's Motion—The Viceroy's experimental Tour—Its Object and Effects—Reflections upon Mr. Fortescue's Conduct, and upon the State of Parties—Public Opinion—The Catholic Clergy deceived by Lord Cornwallis—They support the Union—Lord Clare's Motives for supporting the Union—His Influence upon Lord Castlereagh—Mr. Pitt's private Instructions to Lord Cornwallis contemned by Lord Clare—Personal Conflicts—Lord Castlereagh's Plan of Retaliation—Dinner, and Fighting Conspiracy at Lord Castlereagh's House—Meeting of the Opposition at Lord Charlemont's—Pacific Disposition of the Meeting—Mr. Grattan's Duel with Mr. Corry, the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

From the hour that Mr. Ponsonby's motion was withdrawn Government gained strength—the standard of visionary honours and of corrupt emoluments was raised for recruits—a congratulatory, instead of a consolatory despatch, had been instantly forwarded to Mr. Pitt, and another to the Duke of Portland, and it was not difficult to foresee, that the result of that night, though apparently a victory over the proposition for a Union, afforded a strong point for the Minister in the subsequent negociations, by which he had determined to achieve his measure. The arguments and divisions on succeeding debates proved, beyond the possibility of question, the overwhelming advantage which Mr. Fortescue's precedent had given to those who were determined to dispose of their consistency under colour of their moderation.

The bad consequences which were likely to result from this event, did not

at first occur to many of the Opposition. Some of the leading members of that party, highly elated at the success of the last division, could see nothing but the prospect of an increasing majority and an ultimate triumph—these were numerous but short sighted. Others regarded, with a wise solicitude, the palpable want of political connexion in the party that opposed the Minister. However, Lord Castlereagh, who had so confidently pressed forward a measure which Parliament had decidedly rejected, and the public universally reprobated, found his situation the most difficult imaginable. He had no just reason to expect support in minor measures who had proved himself utterly unworthy of the confidence of Parliament on one of the first magnitude. His pride was humbled, but his firmness and perseverance overcame his difficulties, and the next important division on Lord Corry's motion clearly proved the consummate address with which he had trafficked with the members during the interval. All the weapons of seduction were in his hands; and, to acquire a majority, he had only to overcome the wavering and feeble. A motion of Lord Corry's, made a few days afterwards, in order to prevent any future scheme of a Union, after a long debate, was also negatived (by a majority of fifty-eight), and thus concluded all discussion on the Union for that session. The session, however, had scarcely closed, when his Lordship recommenced his warfare against his country.—The treasury was in his hands, patronage in his note-book, and all the influence which the scourge or the pardon, reward or punishment, could possibly produce on the trembling rebels, was openly resorted to. Lord Cornwallis determined to put Irish honesty to the test, and set out on an experimental tour through those parts of the country where the nobility and gentry were most likely to entertain him. He artfully selected those

places where he could best make his way with corporations at public dinners, and with the aristocracy, country gentlemen, and farmers, by visiting their mansions and cottages. Ireland was thus canvassed, and every gaol was converted to a hustings.

In reflecting, therefore, on the extraordinary fate of Mr. Ponsonby's declaratory motion, just and not inconsiderable alarm must have been excited in the mind of every man who had determined boldly and unequivocally to support the freedom of his country.

It was not now difficult to perceive, that, to the cool and reasoning part of the nation, melancholy forebodings must naturally arise, from the decided absence of that cordial and uniform co-operation amongst the Members of the Opposition, by whose undeviating unanimity alone the ruin of the country could be resisted.

It was evident that, by the thoughtless conduct of Mr. Fortescue, Lord Cole, and Mr. French, the entire extinction of the proposal was prevented—had they been one moment silent, Ireland at this period would have been a proud, prosperous, free, tranquil, and productive portion of the British Empire—their fatal and puerile inconsistency lost their country—gave a clue out of that labyrinth in which the Secretary and the Government had been the moment before in a hopeless perplexity—and opened a wide door for future discussion, which Mr. Ponsonby's motion would have prevented for ever.

In a body composed as the Parliament of Ireland, though this misfortune must ever be deplored and those gentlemen for ever censured, yet such an event was not a subject for astonishment. A great number of those who composed the House were most inexperienced statesmen—they

meddled but little individually in any arrangement of debates, and voted according to their party or their sentiments, without the habit of any previous consultation.

Such men, therefore, after the last division against the Minister, could not suppose he would again revive the question, and they partook of the general satisfaction. *Moderation* was now recommended, as the proper course for a *loyal* opposition, and the Union having been virtually negatived, it was observed by the *courtly* oppositionists to be at least unkind, if not indiscreet, to push Government further at a "*moment like the present.*"

On the other hand, those who wished to complete the victory, could not shut their eyes to the hazard of moderate proceedings, and their zeal led them to wish to improve their advantage, and, if possible, to remove Lord Cornwallis from the Government, as a finishing stroke to the measure. But the conduct of Mr. Fortescue and his supporters had miserably deceived them, and had convinced the leaders of the Opposition that they were about to tread very uncertain ground, and that their first consideration should be, how far the possibility of attaining their ultimate object should be weighed against the probable event of losing their majority by another trial of strength.

Reasoning people, without doors, saw the danger still more clearly than those who had individually to encounter it. Regardless of the solemn engagements he had made in the House, and by which he had imposed on many of the Opposition, the Minister and his agents lost no opportunity nor omitted any means of making good their party amongst the Members who had not publicly declared themselves, and of endeavouring to pervert the principles and corrupt the consistency of those who had. Lord

Castlereagh's efforts were extensive and indefatigable, his means shameless and palpable; yet he partially succeeded, and every hour gained ground on his opponents. There was no difficulty in perceiving that the ranks of the Opposition were too open to be strong, and that the party was too mixed to be unanimous. The fate of Mr. Ponsonby's declaration of rights was, in fact, natural, though unexpected; and the debate on the similar motion by Lord Corry, which so shortly afterwards met a more serious negative, proved the truth of these observations, and identified the persons through whom that truth was to be afterwards exemplified.

The disheartening effects of Mr. Fortescue's conduct (notwithstanding the general exultation of the country) appeared to make considerable progress on the public mind—it was assiduously circulated by Government as a favourable omen, and on all occasions reluctantly alluded to by the Opposition—it was apparent that a vein of mistrust and suspicion had, from that night and through that circumstance, been opened in the Opposition, otherwise an increasing majority of five against the Minister, on the second division, if unaccompanied by any unfavourable circumstance, would have established effectively the progressive power of the Opposition, and the declining authority of Government*. The advantage of the majority was lost, and the possibility of dividing the Anti-Unionists could no longer be questioned; this consideration had an immediate and extensive effect—the timid recommenced their fears—the undecided began to think of terms—the

* It may be seen, that in all debates of Parliament, "*a moment like the present*"—or, "*this is not the time*"—or, "*it would be highly inconvenient at this time,*" &c.—are invariably used as *arguments* by Ministers when they have no substantial reasons to give for their refusals—it is a sweeping species of reply of great utility, as it answers all subjects and all reasoning.

venal to negotiate, and the public mind, particularly amongst the Catholics, who still smarted from the scourge, became so deeply affected, and so timorously doubtful, that some of the persons, assuming to themselves the title of *Catholic Leaders**, sought an audience, in order to inquire from Marquess Cornwallis, "What would be the advantage to the Catholics, if a Union should happen to be effected in Ireland?"

After the division of the first night, great confidence in an ultimate success universally took place in the Opposition. The Parliament, unaccustomed to see the Minister with a majority of only *one*, considered him as totally defeated. A rising party is sure to gain proselytes. Government, therefore, lost ground as the Opposition gained it. It was generally supposed that the Viceroy and Secretary must resign. Many of their adherents shrunk from them. A large proportion of Parliament was far beyond the power either of fear or corruption, yet the history of these times will throw a partial shade over the consistency of Ireland, and exhibit some of the leading characters in both Houses in a course of the most humiliating servility; and contradicting, by the last act of their political lives, the whole of their former principles, from the first moment they had the power of declaring them to the nation. In another quarter, those who formed an Opposition to the Minister on the question of a Union, had been, and wished to continue, his avowed supporters in every other. The custom of the times,

* Mr. Bellew (brother to Sir Patrick Bellew), Mr. Lynch, and some others, had several audiences with the Viceroy—the Catholic Bishops were generally deceived into the most disgusting subservience—rewards were not withheld—Mr. Bellew was to be appointed a County Judge, but that being found impracticable, he got a pension, which he has now enjoyed for twenty-seven years.

the venality of the Court, even the excessive habits of convivial luxury, had combined gradually to blunt the poignancy of public spirit and the activity of patriotic exertions on ordinary subjects. The terrors of the rebellion, scarcely yet extinguished, had induced many to cling for protection round a government whose principles they had condemned, and whose politics they had resisted. The subdolous Viceroy knew full well how to make his advantage of the moment, and by keeping up the delusion, under the name of *loyalty and discretion*, he restrained within narrow limits the spirit of constitutional independence wherever he found he could not otherwise subdue it*.

The Members of the old Opposition, who had been returned to the new Parliament in 1797, did not exceed fifty; but several others, who had been connected (and some of them closely) with Government, showed a tendency, on the Union alone, to sever themselves from their old attachment; accustomed to support administration, they formed no cordial co-operation with those who had professed a more extensive principle of opposition; and though they wished to oppose the *Union*, they did not wish to oppose the *Minister*†, and they acted without decisive effect, because they wrought on too contracted a foundation.

* Mr. Curran, Mr. Grattan, and some other Members of the Opposition, seceded from the new Parliament. Never was any step more indiscreet—more ill timed, or to themselves more injurious—that the cause of Ireland should lose two such advocates, at the very moment she most required them, was truly unfortunate. Mr. Grattan returned to Parliament when too late—Mr. Curran, never; and his fine talents were lost to himself and his country for ever.

† A fine sample of that species of Anti-Unionist is exemplified by the speech of *Mr. John Claudius Beresford*, Member for the City of Dublin.—*Vide* Appendix.

The Opposition were, in fact, united on no one question but that of the Union—even in the means of that Opposition they were not agreed, much less in the mode of securing a retreat or of profiting by a victory. A view of the House at this period was quite unprecedented; the friends of Catholic Emancipation were seen on the same benches with those of Protestant ascendancy—the supporters of reform divided with the borough influence—a sense of common danger drew men together upon this topic who were dissimilar in sentiment, adverse in opinion, jealous in interest, and antagonists in principle. They conjointly presented a formidable front to the enemy, but possessed within themselves neither subordination nor unanimity, qualities essentially necessary to preserve so heterogeneous a body from the destructive weapons which were provided for their overthrow.

There was no great leader whom they could collectively consult or obey—no systematic course determined on for their conduct—no pre-arranged plan of proceeding without doors, or practical arrangement for internal debate; their energies were personal, their enthusiasm graduated, and their exertions not gregarious. Every man formed his own line of procedure: the battle was hand to hand, the movements desultory; whether they clashed with the general interest, or injured the general cause, was hardly contemplated, and seldom perceived until the injury had happened.

The *talent* of Parliament principally existed amongst the members who had formed the general opposition to the Union. Some habitual friends of administration, therefore, who had on this single question seceded from the Court, and who wished to resume their old habits on the Union being disposed of, obviously felt a portion of narrow jealousy at being *led*

by those whom they had been accustomed to *oppose*, and reluctantly joined in any *liberal* opposition to a Court which they had been in the habit of supporting. They desired to vote against the Union in the abstract, but to commit themselves no farther against the Minister. Many upon this temporizing and ineffective principle cautiously avoided any discussion, save upon the *direct* proposition; and this was remarkable, and felt to be ruinous in the succeeding session*.

But the strongest and most fatal cause of division amongst the Members of the Opposition, was certainly their radical difference of opinion on the Catholic question. Those who had determined to support the Catholic cause, as the surest mode of preventing any future attempts to attain a Union, were obliged to dissemble their intentions of proposing emancipation, lest they should disgust the Catholic opponents who acted with them solely against the Union. Those who were enemies to Catholic relaxation were also obliged to conceal their wishes, lest their determination to resist that measure should disgust the advocates of emancipation, who had united with them on the present occasion.

The Viceroy knew mankind too well to dismiss the Catholics without a comfortable conviction of their certain emancipation; he turned to them the honest side of his countenance: the priests bowed before the soldierly condescensions of a starred veteran. The titular Archbishop was led to believe he would instantly become a real prelate; and before the

* It is worthy of observation, that Lord Castlereagh was so aware of that feeling amongst those who opposed the Union, that, in 1800, Lord Cornwallis's speech did not even hint at that measure. Hence the diminished minority on Sir Laurence Parson's motion, and the greatly increased minority on the production of the propositions.

negociation concluded, Dr. Troy was consecrated a decided Unionist, and was directed to send pastoral letters to his colleagues to promote it. Never yet did any clergy so retrograde as the Catholic hierarchy, &c., on that occasion. It is true that they were deceived; but it was a corrupt deception, and they felt it during the last eight and twenty years. Most of them have since sojourned to the grave simple titulars, and have left a double lesson to the world, that Priests and Governments can rely but little on each other, and that the people should in general be very sceptical in relying upon either.

Nothing could be more culpable than the conduct of a considerable portion of the Catholic clergy;—the Catholic body were misled, or neutralised, throughout the entire of that unfortunate era. In 1798 they were hanged; in 1799 they were caressed; in 1800 they were cajoled; in 1801 they were discarded; and, after a lapse of twenty-six years, they were complaining louder than when they were in slavery. Nothing can now keep pace with their population but their poverty; and no sect ever gave a more helping hand to their own degradation and misery.

Lord Castlereagh, in his nature decided and persevering, was stimulated still more by the spirit and arrogance of the restless and indefatigable Chancellor. Lord Clare had professed himself an enemy to the Union; but, deluded by his ambition, he conceived he might rule the British councils, as he had governed those of Ireland. The Union rejected, his power would be extinguished; if it were carried, his influence might be transferred to a larger field; he therefore determined that the measure should be achieved—whether by fraud, or force, or corruption, was to him a matter, if not of indifference, at least of no perplexing solicitude.

Lord Castlereagh enlisted willingly under his banners, whilst the Marquess Cornwallis, pertinacious yet plausible, cajoled men, whom the address of Fitzgibbon would have irritated, or the undisguised corruption of Castlereagh have disgusted or alarmed.

Mr. Pitt had, by a *private* despatch to Lord Cornwallis, desired that the measure should not be then pressed, unless he could be *certain* of a majority of *fifty**. The Chancellor, on learning the import of that despatch, expostulated in the strongest terms at so pusillanimous a decision. His Lordship never knew the meaning of the word moderation in any public pursuit, and he cared not whether the Union were carried by a majority of one or one hundred.

Lord Castlereagh, though practically unskilled, was intuitively artful —he was cool, whilst Lord Clare was inflamed; and Lord Cornwallis, as a soldier, preferred stratagem to assault, and cautiously opened his trenches before every assailable Member. Lord Castlereagh had reflected

* The original despatch I saw, and read that abstract of it; it was brought from Mr. Cooke's office *secretly*, and shown to me for a particular purpose—and completely deceived me—but I could not obtain possession, nor a correct copy of it. I afterwards found that it was *not* replaced in the office. It was subscribed by Mr. Pitt himself, and the name of *Mr. Bankes* occurred more than once in it.

I have reason to believe that that despatch, with some other *important* papers, was accidentally dropped in College Green, and found by Doctor Kearny, then Provost of Dublin University. He told me he had found such papers, and promised to show them to me at a future day, but never did. Doctor Kearny was a grotesque figure, wonderfully short and droll, but a man of learning and of excellent character in every respect. He was afterwards made Bishop of Ossory—he was an *Anti-Unionist.*

on an unfavourable circumstance, which he had the spirit and policy, as far as possible, to counteract.

In the former session, the Opposition had derived considerable advantage from the spirit with which many of the party had inclined towards personal hostilities; this, in the ensuing session, was to be retaliated with interest; but many of his adherents, though engaged to vote, might not be so well inclined to combat for a Union. He was naturally of high spirit, but this was not to be imparted to others, nor could he, prudently, exhibit it himself: he had the command of money, but not the creation of courage, and his cause was not calculated to generate that feeling; he therefore devised a plan, unprecedented, and which never could have been thought of in any other country than Ireland: it has not been the subject of any publication*.

He invited to dinner, at his house in Merion Square, above twenty of his most staunch supporters, consisting of "tried men," and men of "fighting families," who might feel an individual pride in resenting every personality of the Opposition, and in identifying their own honour with the cause of Government. This dinner was sumptuous; the Champagne and Madeira had their due effect: no man could be more condescending than the noble host. After due preparation, the point was skilfully introduced by Sir John Blaquiere (since created Lord de Blaquiere), who, of all men, was best calculated to promote a gentlemanly, convivial,

* It was communicated to me on the morning *after* its development by a Member of Parliament, who was *himself* present and engaged in the enterprise, but *whose real* principles were decidedly averse to a Union, to which he had been induced to give his insincere support; but though he had ample spirit, he had too much good sense to quarrel on the subject.

fighting, conspiracy; he was of the old school, an able diplomatist; and with the most polished manners and imposing address, he combined a friendly heart and decided spirit; in polite conviviality he was unrivalled.

Having sent round many loyal, mingled with joyous and exhilarating toasts, he stated, that he understood the Opposition were disposed to personal unkindness, or even incivilities, towards His Majesty's best friends, the Unionists of Ireland. He was determined that no man should advance upon him by degrading the party he had adopted, and the measures he was pledged to support. A full bumper proved his sincerity—the subject was discussed with great glee, and some of the company began to feel a zeal for "*actual service.*"

Lord Castlereagh affected some coquetry, lest this idea should appear to have originated with him; but, when he perceived that many had made up their minds to act even on the offensive, he calmly observed, that some mode should, at all events, be taken to secure the constant presence of a sufficient number of the Government friends during the discussion, as subjects of the utmost importance were often totally lost for want of due attendance. Never did a sleight-of-hand man juggle more expertly.

One of his Lordship's prepared accessories (as if it were a new thought) proposed, humorously, to have a dinner for twenty or thirty every day, in one of the committee chambers, where they could be always at hand to make up a House, or for any *emergency* which should call for an unexpected reinforcement, during any part of the discussion.

The novel idea of such a detachment of legislators was considered whimsical and humorous, and, of course, was not rejected. Wit and puns began to accompany the bottle; Mr. Cooke, the Secretary, then,

with significant nods and smerking innuendos, began to circulate his official rewards to the company. The hints and the claret united to raise visions of the most gratifying nature—every man became in a prosperous state of official pregnancy: embryo judges—counsel to boards—envoys to foreign courts—compensation pensioners—placemen at chance—and commissioners in assortments—all revelled in the anticipation of something *substantial* to be given to every Member who would do the Secretary the honour of accepting it.

The scheme was unanimously adopted—Sir John Blaquiere pleasantly observed that, at all events, they would be sure of a good *cook* at their dinners. After much wit, and many flashes of convivial bravery, the meeting separated after midnight, fully resolved to eat, drink, speak, and *fight* for Lord Castlereagh. They so far kept their words, that the supporters of the Union indisputably showed more personal spirit than their opponents during the session.

The house of Lord Charlemont was the place of meeting for the leading Members, opponents of the Union; the hereditary patriotism and honour of his son, the present Earl, pointed him out for general confidence. The next morning after Lord Castlereagh's extraordinary coterie, a meeting was held at Charlemont House, to consider of the best system to be pursued in the House of Commons, to preserve the country from the impending ruin.

No man in Ireland was more sincere than Lord Charlemont. Lord Corry was by far more ardent, and Lord Clermont more reserved in their manners: the Commoners who attended, alike were honest and honourable: their objects were the same, but their temperature was unequal; and

this meeting, with very few exceptions, was exactly the reverse of that of the Minister: patriotic, disinterested, independent, and talented; but of a calm, gentle, and reflective character.

Lord Castlereagh's project against their courage was communicated to most of them; and three distinct proposals (it would, perhaps, be improper to state them now) were made on that occasion.

In the judgment of the proposer (who retains the same opinion), either of them, if adopted with spirit and adhered to with perseverance, would have defeated the Minister; but the great body of the meeting disapproved of them. Mr. Grattan, Lord Corry, Mr. John Ball, Colonel O'Donnell, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. Egan, and some other gentlemen, zealously approved of by far the most decisive and spirited of the three expedients. The proposer well knew that no ordinary measures could be successful against the Government, and that by nothing but extremes could the Union be even suspended. The residue of the meeting were, perhaps, more discreet; and never was there seen a more decided predisposition to tranquillity, than in the majority of the distinguished men at that important assembly of Irish patriots.

On the first debate, it appeared indisputably that Lord Castlereagh had diffused his own spirit into many of his adherents, and it became equally apparent, that it was not met with corresponding ardour by the Opposition: to this, however, there was one memorable exception—to Mr. Grattan alone was it reserved to support the spirit of his party, and to exemplify the gallantry which he so strongly recommended to others. Roused by Mr. Corry, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he gave him no time for repentance; and, considering the temper of the times, the

propensity of the people, and the intense agitation upon the subject, it is marvellous, that this was the only instance of blood-shed during the contest. Mr. Grattan had shot him at day-break, and the intelligence arrived whilst the House was yet sitting—its effect was singular. The project at Lord Castlereagh's well warranted reprisals*.

* Two of the three expedients proposed, at first view, might appear extravagant, and were called impracticable; one was certainly easy, all were loyal, and either of them would have been effective.

CHAPTER XIV.

Proceedings of Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh—The Compensation Bill—Opening of the Session of 1800—The Viceroy's Speech—Lord Viscount Loftus moves the Address, and Sir Laurence Parsons the Amendment—Vehement Debate—Personal Hostilities resolved upon by the Treasury Benches—Eloquence of Mr. Bushe and of Mr. Plunket—They are attacked by Mr. Saint George Daly—His extraordinary Speech—Speech of Mr. Peter Burrows—The Election of Mr. Grattan for the Town of Wicklow—Efforts made by Government to prevent his Return—His unexpected Appearance in Parliament, and extraordinary Speech—Its electric Effect—Is replied to by Mr. Corry—Adjournment of the House—Resumed Debate—Majority for the Treasury—The Union Bill in the Committee—Mr. Annesley illegally placed in the Chair—Sir W. Gladstow Newcomen—Mr. F. Knox—Mr. Crowe—Lord Belvidere—The Reverend Mr. Usher—Incident in the House—The Bill is passed.

Lords Cornwallis and Castlereagh had now discarded all secrecy and reserve; their last effort was to be made in the ensuing session, and, consequently, the interval was precious.

It would be uselessly grating to many living individuals, to recite the various acts of *metallic* corruption which were practised on them, without any reserve, during the summer of 1799. It will be sufficient to describe the proceedings, without particularising the individuals. Many of the peers, and several of the commoners, had the patronage of boroughs, the control of which was essential to the success of the Minister's project. These patrons Lord Castlereagh assailed by every means which his power and situation afforded. Lord Cornwallis was the remote, Lord Castlereagh

the intermediate, and Mr. Secretary Cooke the immediate agents on many of these bargains. Lord Shannon, the Marquess of Ely, and several other peers commanding votes, had been secured during the first session; but the defeat of Government rendered their future support uncertain. The parliamentary patrons had breathing time after the preceding session, and began to tremble for their patronage and importance; and some desperate step became necessary to Government to insure a continuance of the support of these personages. This object gave rise to a measure which the British nation will scarcely believe possible, for its enormity is without parallel.

Lord Castlereagh's first object was to introduce into the House, by means of the Place Bill, a sufficient number of dependants to balance all opposition. He then boldly announced his intention to turn the scale, by bribes to all who would accept them, under the name of compensation for the loss of patronage and interest. He publicly declared, *first*, that every nobleman who returned Members to Parliament should be paid, in cash, 15,000*l.* for every Member so returned; *secondly*, that every Member who had purchased a seat in Parliament should have his purchase-money repaid to him, by the Treasury of Ireland; *thirdly*, that all Members of Parliament, or others, who were losers by a Union, should be fully recompensed for their losses, and that 1,500,000*l.* should be devoted to this service:—in other terms, all who supported his measure were, under some pretence or other, to share in this bank of corruption.

A declaration so flagitious and treasonable was never publicly made in any country; but it had a powerful effect in his favour; and, before the meeting of Parliament, he had secured at least a small majority.

After the debate on the Union in 1800 he performed his promise, and brought in a Bill to raise one million and a half of money upon the Irish people, nominally to compensate, but really to bribe their representatives, for betraying their honour and selling their country. This Bill was but feebly resisted; the divisions of January and February (1800) had reduced the success of the Government to a certainty, and all further opposition was abandoned. It was unimportant to Lord Castlereagh, who received the plunder of the nation; the taxes were levied, and a vicious partiality was effected in the partition.

The assent to the Bill by his Majesty, as King of Ireland, gives rise to perhaps the most grave consideration suggested in these Memoirs.

A king, bound by the principles of the British Constitution, giving his sacred and voluntary fiat to a Bill to levy taxes for the compensation of Members of Parliament, for their loss of the opportunities of selling what it was criminal to sell or purchase, could scarcely be believed by the British people.

It may be curious to consider how the English would endure the proposal of such a measure in their own country—a British Premier who should advise his Majesty to give his assent to such a statute, would experience the utmost punishment that the severest law of England could inflict for that enormity.

There were times when Mr. Pitt would have lost his head for a tithe of his government in Ireland: Strafford was an angel compared to that celebrated statesman.

When the compensation statute had received the royal assent, the

Viceroy appointed four commissioners to carry its provisions into execution. Three were Members of Parliament, whose salaries of 1200*l.* a year each (with probable advantages) were a tolerable consideration for their former services. The Honourable Mr. Annesley and Dr. Duigenan were the two principal assessors of that extraordinary distribution: there was no impeachment of their individual integrity in the performance of that duty.

It is however to be lamented, that the records of the proceedings have been *unaccountably disposed of.* A voluminous copy of claims, accepted and rejected, was published, and partially circulated; but the great and important grants, the private pensions, and occult compensations, have never been made public, further than by those who received them*. It is known that

	£.	s.	d.
Lord Shannon received for his patronage in the Commons	45,000	0	0
The Marquess of Ely	45,000	0	0
Lord Clanmorris, besides a Peerage	23,000	0	0
Lord Belvidere, besides his *douceur*	15,000	0	0
Sir Hercules Langrishe	15,000	0	0

* The extraordinary claims for compensation, and some extraordinary grants by the Commissioners, would, on any other occasion, be a fit subject for ridicule. But the application of *one million and a half sterling*, to purposes so public and so vile, renders it an eternal blot on the Government in Ireland.

Amongst other curious claims for Union *Compensations*, in the Report *printed and circulated*, appear, one from the Lord Lieutenant's *rat catcher* at the Castle, for decrease of employment; another from the *necessary woman* of the Privy Council of England, for increased trouble in her department, with numerous others of the same quality.

At length, the Parliament being sufficiently arranged to give Government a reasonable assurance of success, Lord Castlereagh determined to feel the pulse of the House of Commons distinctly before he proposed the measure of the Union.

The British Parliament had already framed the terms on which the proposition was to be founded, giving to its own project the complexion of a favour, and triumphing by anticipation over the independence of Ireland.

This was a masterpiece of arrogance; and it was determined to try the feelings of the Commons by a negative measure, before the insulting one should be substantially propounded to them. The 15th day of January, 1800 (the last session of the Irish Parliament), gave rise to a debate of the most acrimonious nature, and of great importance.

The speech of Lord Cornwallis from the throne was expected to avow candidly the determination of the Minister to propose, and if possible achieve, a Legislative Union. Every man came prepared to hear that proposal; but a more crafty course was taken by the Secretary.

To the surprise of the Anti-Unionists, the Viceroy's speech did not even hint at the measure—the suggestion of a Union was sedulously avoided. Lord Viscount Loftus (now Marquess of Ely) moved the address, which was as vague as the speech was empty. Lord Loftus was another of those young noblemen who were emitted by their connexions to mark their politics: but neither the cause nor his Lordship's oration conferred any honour on the author; and his speech would have answered any other subject just as well as that upon which it was uttered.

There was not a point in the Viceroy's speech intended to be debated.

But Lord Castlereagh, having collected his flock, was better enabled to decide on numbers; and to count with sufficient certainty on the result of his labours since the preceding session, without any hasty or premature disclosure of his definitive measure.

This negative and insidious mode of proceeding, however, could not be permitted by the Opposition; and Sir Laurence Parsons, after one of the most able and luminous speeches he had ever uttered, moved an amendment, declaratory of the resolution of Parliament to preserve the Constitution as established in 1782, and to support the freedom and independence of the nation*. This motion was the touchstone of the parties; the attendance of the Unionists in the House was compulsory—that of its opponents optional; and on counting the members, sixty-six (about a fifth of the whole) were absent—a most favourable circumstance for the Minister. Every mind was at its stretch—every talent was in its vigour: it was a momentous trial; and never was so general and so deep a sensation felt in any country. Numerous British noblemen and commoners were present at that and the succeeding debate, and they expressed opinions of Irish eloquence which they had never before conceived, nor ever after had an opportunity of appreciating. Every man on that night seemed to be inspired by the subject. Speeches more replete with talent and with energy, on both sides, never were heard in the Irish Senate—it was a vital subject. The sublime, the eloquent, the figurative orator—the plain, the connected, the metaphysical reasoner—the classical, the learned, and the solemn declaimer, in a succession of speeches so full of energy and enthusiasm—so interesting in their nature—so important in their consequence, created a variety of

* *Vide* Appendix.

Engraved by J. Heath from an original painting by Comerford in possession of Sir J. Barrington.

CHARLES KENDAL BUSH.

Solicitor General of Ireland.

Published Sept.r 1.st 1809, by G. Robinson, 25, Paternoster Row, London.

sensations even in the bosom of a stranger, and could scarcely fail of exciting some sympathy with a nation which was doomed to close for ever that school of eloquence which had so long given character and celebrity to Irish talent.

The debate proceeded with increasing heat and interest till past ten o'clock the ensuing morning (16th). Many Members on both sides signalized themselves to an extent that never could have been expected. The result of the convivial resolution at Lord Castlereagh's house, already mentioned, was actually exemplified and clearly discernible;—an unexampled zeal, an uncongenial energy, an uncalled for rancour, and an unusual animation broke out from several previously more placid supporters of Government, to an extent which none but those who had known the system Lord Castlereagh had skilfully suggested to his followers, could in any way account for. This excess of ardour gave to this debate not only a new and extraordinary variety of language, but an acrimony of invective, and an absence of all moderation, never before so immoderately practised. This violence was in unison with the pugnacious project of anticipating the Anti-Unionists in offensive operations—some remarkable instances of that project were actually put into practice, and are not unworthy of being recorded in the Irish chronicles.

Mr. Bush, the present Chief Justice of Ireland, was as nearly devoid of private and public enemies as any man. Endowed with superior talents, he had met with a corresponding success in an ambitious profession and in a jealous country. His eloquence was of the purest kind; but the more delicate the edge, the deeper cuts the irony, and his rebukes were of that description; and when embellished by his ridicule, coarse minds might bear

them, but the more sensitive ones could not. Mr. Plunket's satire was of a different nature—his weapon cut in every direction, and when once unsheathed little quarter could be expected. His satire was, at times, of that corroding yet witty nature, that no patience could endure the junction; yet, on this debate, both these gentlemen were assailed with intrepidity by a person whose talents were despised, and the price of whose seduction glared in an appointment to the highest office at the Irish bar—a barrister without professional practice or experience, and who was not considered susceptible of imbibing too much black letter. As a statesman he had no capacity; and as an orator he was below even mediocrity, from an embarrassed pronunciation which seemed to render any attempt at elocution a most hopeless experiment. Such was Mr. St. George Daly, appointed Prime Serjeant of Ireland in the place of Mr. Fitzgerald, raised over the heads of the Attorney and Solicitor-General, and from a simple briefless advocate, elevated to the very highest rank of a talented and learned profession. Mr. Daly, however, was a gentleman of excellent family, unblemished private reputation, sound common sense upon subjects within his range, of high spirits, and, what was formerly highly esteemed in Ireland, of a "fighting family." He was the brother of Mr. Dennis Daly, of so much talent, and of so much reputation amongst the patriots of eighty-two. He was proud enough for his pretensions, and sufficiently conceited for his capacity; and a private gentleman he would have remained, had not Lord Castlereagh and the Union placed him in public situations, where he had himself too much good sense not to feel that he certainly was over-elevated. This gentleman is particularly noticed, as, on this night, he, in some points, overcame the public opinion

Engraved by J. Heath, from an original painting by Hamilton in possession of Mr. Plunket.

RIGHT HON^BLE WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM PLUNKET.

Published June 2^d 1810, by G. Robinson Paternoster Row London

of his incapacity, and he surprised the House by one of the most clever and severe philippics which had been pronounced during the discussions upon the Union, more remarkable from being directed against two of the most pure and formidable orators in the country.

The contempt with which Mr. Daly conceived his capacity was viewed by the superiors of his profession, the inaptitude he himself felt for the ostensible situation he was placed in, the cutting sarcasms liberally lavished on his inexperience and his infirmity, in lampoons and pamphlets, combined to excite an extraordinary exertion to extricate himself from the humiliating taunts that he had been so long experiencing. Mr. Daly's attack on Mr. Bush was of a clever description, and had Mr. Bush had one vulnerable point, his assailant might have prevailed. He next attacked Mr. Plunket, who sat immediately before him, but the materials of his vocabulary had been nearly exhausted; however, he was making some progress, when the keen visage of Mr. Plunket was seen to assume a curled sneer, which, like a legion offensive and defensive, was prepared for any enemy. No speech could equal his glance of contempt and ridicule—Mr. Daly received it like an arrow—it pierced him—he faltered like a wounded man—his vocal infirmity became more manifest, and, after an embarrassed pause, he yielded—changed his ground, and attacked by wholesale every member of his own profession who had opposed a Union, and termed them a disaffected and dangerous faction. Here again he received a reply not calculated to please him, and at length he concluded one of the most remarkable speeches, because one of the most unexpected, that had been made during the discussion. Every Member who had been in the habit of addressing the House, and several

new ones, who had never spoken, on that night, made warm, and several of them eloquent, orations.

Mr. Peter Burrows, a veteran advocate for the rights of Ireland, wherever and whenever he had the power of declaring himself, on this night made an able effort to uphold his principles. He was a gentleman of the bar who justly had many friends—nothing could be more ungracious than the manner, nothing much better than the matter, of his oration. His mind had ever been too independent to cringe for favour, and his opinions too intractable for an arbitrary minister;—on this night he formed a noble and distinguished contrast to those of his own profession, who had sold themselves and the representation for a mess of pottage.

The House had nearly exhausted itself and the subject, when, about seven o'clock in the morning, an incident the most affecting and unexpected occurred, and which is too precious a relic of Irish Parliamentary chronicles not to be recorded.

The animating presence of Mr. Grattan on this first night of the debate was considered of the utmost importance to the patriots—it was once more raising the standard of liberty in Parliament. He had achieved the independence of his country in 1782, and was the champion best calculated at this crisis to defend it—a union of spirit, of talent, and of honesty, gave him an influence above all his cotemporaries. He had been ungratefully defamed by the people he had liberated, and taking the calumny to heart, his spirit had sunk within him, his health had declined, and he had most unwisely seceded in disgust from Parliament, at the very moment when he was most required to defend both himself and his country. He seemed fast approaching to the termination of all earthly

objects, when he was induced once more to shed his influence over the political crisis.

At that time Mr. Tighe returned the Members for the close borough of Wicklow, and a vacancy having occurred, it was tendered to Mr. Grattan, who would willingly have declined it but for the importunities of his friends.

The Lord Lieutenant and Lord Castlereagh, justly appreciating the effect his presence might have on the first debate, had withheld the writ of election till the last moment the law allowed, and till they conceived it might be too late to return Mr. Grattan in time for the discussion. It was not until the day of the meeting of Parliament that the writ was delivered to the returning officer. By extraordinary exertions, and perhaps by following the example of Government in overstraining the law, the election was held immediately on the arrival of the writ—a sufficient number of voters were collected to return Mr. Grattan before midnight. By one o'clock the return was on its road to Dublin; it arrived by five; a party of Mr. Grattan's friends repaired to the private house of the proper officer, and making him get out of bed, compelled him to present the writ to Parliament before seven in the morning, when the House was in warm debate on the Union. A whisper ran through every party that Mr. Grattan was elected, and would immediately take his seat. The Ministerialists smiled with incredulous derision, and the Opposition thought the news too good to be true.

Mr. Egan was speaking strongly against the measure, when Mr. George Ponsonby and Mr. Arthur Moore (now Judge of the Common Pleas) walked out, and immediately returned, leading, or rather helping

into the body of the House, Mr. Grattan, in a state of total feebleness and debility. The effect was electric. Mr. Grattan's illness and deep chagrin had reduced a form, never symmetrical, and a visage at all times thin, nearly to the appearance of a spectre. As he feebly tottered into the House, every Member simultaneously rose from his seat. He moved slowly to the table; his languid countenance seemed to revive as he took those oaths that restored him to his pre-eminent station; the smile of inward satisfaction obviously illuminated his features, and reanimation and energy seemed to kindle by the labour of his mind. The House was silent—Mr. Egan did not resume his speech—Mr. Grattan, almost breathless, as if by instinct, attempted to rise, but was unable to stand—he paused, and with difficulty requested permission of the House to deliver his sentiments without moving from his seat. This was acceded to by acclamation, and he who had left his bed of sickness to record, as he thought, his last words in the Parliament of his country, kindled gradually till his language glowed with an energy and feeling which he had seldom surpassed. After nearly two hours of the most powerful eloquence, he concluded with an undiminished vigour, miraculous to those who were unacquainted with his intellect.

Never did a speech make a more affecting impression, but it came too late. Fate had decreed the fall of Ireland, and her patriot came only to witness her overthrow. For two hours he recapitulated all the pledges that England had made and had broken—he went through the great events from 1780 to 1800, and proved the more than treachery which had been practised towards the Irish people*. He had concluded, and the question

* *Vide* Appendix.

was loudly called for, when Lord Castlereagh was perceived earnestly to whisper to Mr. Corry—they for an instant looked round the House—whispered again—Mr. Corry nodded assent, and, amidst the cries of question, he began a speech, which, as far as it regarded Mr. Grattan, few persons in the House could have prevailed upon themselves to utter. Lord Castlereagh was not clear what impression Mr. Grattan's speech might have made upon a few hesitating members; he had, in the course of the debate, moved the question of adjournment; he did not like to meet Sir Laurence Parsons on his motion, and Mr. Corry commenced certainly an able, but towards Mr. Grattan, an ungenerous and an unfeeling personal assault—it was useless—it was like an act of a cruel disposition, and he knew it could not be replied to. At length the impatience of the House rendered a division necessary, and in half an hour the fate of Ireland was decided. The numbers were—

For an Adjournment, Lord Castlereagh had	138
For the Amendment	96
Majority	42*

* One of the most unexpected and flagitious acts of public corruption was that of Mr. Arthur Brown, Member for the University of Dublin. He was by birth an American, of most gentlemanly manners, excellent character, and very considerable talents. He had by his learning become a senior fellow of the University, and was the law professor. From his entrance into Parliament he had been a steady, zealous, and able supporter of the rights of Ireland—he had never deviated; he would accept no office; he had attached himself to Mr. Ponsonby, and was supposed to be one of the truest and most unassailable supporters of Ireland.

In the session of 1799 he had taken a most unequivocal, decisive, and ardent part against

This decision, undoubtedly, gave a death wound to the Irish nation. Many, however, still fostered the hope of success in the Opposition; and Lord Castlereagh did not one moment relax his efforts to bribe, to seduce, and to terrify his opponents.

The Anti-Unionists, also, lost no opportunity of improving their minority; and the next division proved that neither party had been unsuccessful in its canvass. The adjournment was to the 5th day of February—the Union propositions, as passed by the British Parliament, were, after a long speech, laid before the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh: on that day Mr. Bagwell, of Tipperary county, seceded from Government—the present Marquess of Ormond had also divided from it; and the minority appeared to have received numerous acquisitions—Mr. Saurin, Mr. Peter Burrows, and other eminent gentlemen of the bar, now appeared to make the last effort to rescue their country.

Lord Castlereagh, upheld by his last majority, now kept no bounds in his assertions and in his arrogance; and, after a debate of the entire night, at eleven the ensuing morning the division took place. It appeared that the Anti-Unionists had gained ground since the former session, and that there existed 115 Members of the Irish Parliament, whom neither promotion, nor office, nor fear, nor reward, nor ambition, could procure

the Union, and had spoken against it as a crime and as the ruin of the country: he was believed to be incorruptible. On this night he rose, but crest-fallen and abashed at his own tergiversation; he recanted every word he had ever uttered—deserted from the country—supported the Union—accepted a bribe from the Minister—was afterwards placed in office, but shame haunted him—he hated himself: an amiable man fell a victim to corruption. He rankled, and pined, and died of a wretched mind and a broken constitution.

to vote against the independence of their country—though nations fall that opposition will remain immortal.

Lord Castlereagh's motion was artful in the extreme—he did not move expressly for any adoption of the propositions, but that they should be printed and circulated, with a view to their ultimate adoption.

This was opposed as a virtual acceptation of the subject; on this point the issue was joined, and the Irish nation, was, on that night, laid prostrate. The division was—

For Lord Castlereagh's Motion.....	158
Against it	115
Majority.....	43

Although this was decisive as to the ultimate fate of the nation—the contest still proceeded with unremitting ardour—numerous debates and numerous divisions took place before the final catastrophe—in numbers, Government made no progress, and never could or did obtain a majority of fifty on the principle of a Union.

The details of the subsequent proceedings are not within the range of this desultory memoir. The speech of Mr. Foster, the Speaker, against the measure, occupied four hours: a deference to his opinion, and a respect for his true patriotism, caused a dead silence throughout the entire of his oration—on any other occasion, that oration would have been overwhelming; but the question was, in fact, decided before he had, in the committee, any opportunity of declaring his opinion; and his speech was little more than

recording his sentiments. Some incidents occurred during the progress of the discussion which may be worth reciting, as interesting anecdotes, but the great work itself proceeded to its completion. The House was surrounded by the military, under colour of keeping the peace, but, in fact, to excite terror; and Lord Castlereagh threatened to remove the Parliament to Cork, if its proceedings were interrupted. But the Anti-Unionists had no organization, no decided leader; scattered and desponding, they sunk under their fate, without sufficient external exertion to oppose it. Doctors Troy, Lanigan, and others, had betrayed their flocks by promoting the Union—the great body of Catholics were true to their country, but the rebellion had terrified them from overt opposition—all was confusion—nothing could be effected against Lord Castlereagh, who had one million and a half to bribe with—besides, the secret service-money of England was at his command. Had the proposal been made two years later, all the wealth and power of England could not have effected the annexation.

The subject is now ended—posterity will appreciate the injuries of Ireland. The only security England has for the permanence of the Union, is a radical change in the nature and genius of the people; or, a total change of system in the mode of governing. How blind must those Governments be which suppose that Ireland ever can be retained permanently by the coercive system. Seven millions of people, whose lives cannot be precious to them, never can be permanently yoked to any other nation, not much more physically powerful, and not near so warlike, save by a full participation of rights and industry;—with employment,

protection, and any means of subsistence, the Irish might be the easiest managed people on the face of Europe: naturally loyal—naturally tractable —naturally adapted to labour—it is a total ignorance of their character abroad, with a system of petty tyranny at home, that destroys this people—governing by executions has the very opposite effect from that intended —death is too common to have much terrors for a desperate peasantry —hang 100,000 every year, it would make no sensible diminution of the Irish population, and certainly would add nothing to the tranquillity of the country; on the contrary, every execution increases the number of the dissatisfied—who can be contented with the execution of his kindred? The only guardians of that devoted people, the only persons who could direct or guide them, are now, by the Union, for ever taken away from them: their landlords now reside in other countries; no labourers are now employed on the old demesnes that supported them. What are they to subsist upon? An idle population can never cease to be a disturbed one; and, if it be possible to convince the English people that the state of Ireland must soon influence their own condition, much will be effected; if England should be convinced that Ireland has been plundered, by a British Minister, of the only certain means of ensuring her tranquillity (a resident Parliament)—that the plunder has been without any beneficial operation to England herself—great progress will be made toward some better system. Half the time of the Imperial Parliament is now occupied upon a subject of which nothing but local knowledge can give a competent idea; and it is the opinion of the wisest and most dispassionate people, that now reflect upon the state of the connexion, that either the Union must be rendered closer and more

operative for its professed objects—interests must be more amalgamated, and the nations dove-tailed together, or the Union be altogether relinquished: the first is practicable, safe, and beneficial; the latter, full of difficulty, of danger, perhaps of ruin—the dilemma is momentous, but the alternative is inevitable.

This digression arises from the circumstances which have been mentioned just preceding it. To a loyal and true-hearted Irishman, it must be a subject of solicitude; but a reflection on 1800 never can arise without exciting emotions of disgust and feelings of indignation.

After a long, an ardent, but an ineffective struggle, the Anti-Unionists gave way entirely; and but little further resistance was offered to any thing.

During the progress of the Union Bill through the Commons many circumstances occurred, which, with reference to analogous subjects, are of the utmost legal and constitutional importance.

When the Bill was in the committee, Mr. Richard Annesley (afterwards Lord Annesley) was called to the chair, on the motion of Lord Castlereagh, and sat as chairman nearly throughout the entire discussion.

Mr. R. Annesley had been returned Member for the city of Clogher by the Bishop, whose predecessors had exercised that patronage through the votes of four or five of their own domestics, or, perhaps, of only their steward or chaplain, and in their own hall. On this occasion, however, the Bishop's nomination of Mr. Annesley and General Gardner was opposed by Mr. Charles Ball and Colonel King, as an experiment, at the suggestion of Mr. Plunket. On the election, these candidates tendered a number of the resident inhabitants of the district as legal constituents of that

ancient city, over which the Bishops had, in despotic times, assumed a patronage, not only contrary to the inherent rights of franchise, but altogether unconstitutional, it being merely a nomination of Members of the Commons by a spiritual Lord. The Bishop's returning officer had, of course, rejected all lay interference, and Mr. Annesley and General Gardner were returned by five or six domestics of the prelate.

This election, however, was most vigorously contested by Mr. Ball and Colonel King; they canvassed the vicinity, informed the landholders of their inherent rights, and of the Bishops' usurpation. A great number appeared, and tendered their votes for the new candidates, who, in their turn, objected to every voter received for those of the Bishop; and, thus circumstanced, the return came back to Parliament.

The Bishop's nominees took their seats, as lawful Members of Parliament; and as such Mr. Annesley was named chairman to the committee of the whole House, which voted all the details and articles of the Union. Mr. Ball and Colonel King, however, petitioned against that return. A committee was appointed to decide the question: every possible delay was contrived by the Government, and every influence was attempted, even over the Members of the committee—nothing was too shameful for the arrogance of the Chancellor (who took a furious part) and the corruption of the Secretary.

After a month of arduous and minute investigation, an old document was traced to the Paper Office at the Castle, which the Viceroy endeavoured to have suppressed by the keeper of the records. On its production the usurpation of the Bishops was proved beyond all possibility of argument,

and Mr. Annesley, through whose voice every clause of the Union had been put and carried, was declared by the House a usurper, and his election, and the return thereupon, was pronounced null and void. By this decision, the whole of the proceedings of the committee had been carried on, through the instrumentality and functions of a person not *de jure* a Member of Parliament at the time he so acted. This point, if it had been then vigorously pushed, must have led to most serious and deep constitutional questions.

It was the *lex Parliamentaria* that, on an election for a Member of Parliament, all votes taken before a returning officer, not legally qualified as such, were null and void*.

Mr. Charles Ball was excluded from voting against the Union the whole time of Mr. Annesley's so usurping the duties of a Member, and voting in its favour. Whether his acts could be construed to be legal was a point rendered useless, by the certainty of the Union being effected.

Mr. Annesley was in his seat in the House when the report of the committee was read: the effect was considerable. Mr. Annesley and General Gardner instantly rose and left the House, and Mr. Charles Ball and Colonel King were as quickly introduced, dressed in the Anti-Union uniform, and took their seats in the place of the discarded Members. A new chairman was substituted for Mr. Annesley†.

* This was uncontradicted, and *a fortiori* the votes of a committee, taken by a chairman who was not a Member of the House, even when he signed the journals and brought up the reports, were of no effect.

† This circumstance clearly shows the importance of having correct returning officers, because any returning officer may, at the commencement of any session, where there is any thing

Another curious instance of palpable corruption remains on record. Sir William Gladowe Newcomen, Bart., Member for the county of Longford, in the course of the debate, declared he supported the Union, as he was not instructed to the contrary by his constituents. This avowal surprised many, as it was known that the county was nearly unanimous against the measure, and that he was well acquainted with the fact. However, he voted for Lord Castlereagh, and he asserted that conviction alone was his guide: his veracity was doubted, and in a few months some of his bribes were published. His wife was also created a peeress.

One of his bribes has been discovered, registered in the Rolls Office—a document which it was never supposed would be exposed, but which would have been grounds for impeachment against every Member of Government who thus contributed his aid to plunder the public and corrupt the Parliament*.

like a close contest, return at his choice, and, after a length of time, leave to the chapter of accidents whether his Member may be dismissed or not. Mr. Annesley and General Gardner were so mortified at their being turned out of the House, that the Opposition named them "the *suffering loyalists.*"

* The following is a copy, from the Rolls Office of Ireland:—

"*By the Lord Lieutenant and General Governor of Ireland.*

"CORNWALLIS.

"WHEREAS Sir William Gladowe Newcomen, Bart., hath, by his *Memorial* laid before us, "represented that, on the 25th day of June, 1785, John, late Earl of Mayo, then Lord Viscount "Naas, Receiver-General of Stamp Duties, together with Sir Thomas Newcomen, Bart., and "Sir Barry Denny, Bart., both since deceased, as Sureties for the said John, Earl of Mayo, "executed a Bond to his Majesty, conditioning to pay into the Treasury the Stamp Duties "received by him; that the said Earl of Mayo continued in the said office of Receiver-General

But all the individual instances of the corrupt influence which seduced so many Members of the Irish Parliament to betray their trusts, and transmit their names to posterity as the most fatal enemies of that island where they drew their breath, would be a labour of too great an extent for

" until the 30th day of July, 1786, when he resigned the same, at which time it is stated that he " was indebted to his Majesty in the sum of *about* five thousand pounds, and died on the 7th of " April, 1792; that the said Sureties are dead, and the said Sir Thomas Newcomen, Bart., did " by his last will appoint the Memorialist Executor of his estate; that the Memorialist proposed " to pay into his Majesty's Exchequer the sum of two thousand pounds, as a *composition* for *any* " money that might be recovered thereon, upon the estate being *released* from any *further* charge " on account of the said debt due to his Majesty. And the before-mentioned *Memorial* having " been referred to his Majesty's *Attorney-General*, for his opinion what would be *proper* to be " done in *this matter*, and the said Attorney-General having by his report unto us, dated the " 20th day of August, 1800, advised that, under *all the circumstances* of the *case*, the sum of *two* " thousand pounds should be accepted of the Memorialist on the part of Government," &c. &c.

" J. TOLER."

By this abstract it now appears, even by the Memorial of Sir William Gladowe, that he was indebted *at least five thousand pounds*, from the year 1786, to the public Treasury and Revenue of Ireland; that, with the interest thereon, it amounted in 1800 to *ten thousand pounds;* that Sir William had assets in his hands, as executor, to pay that debt; and that, on the Union, when all such arrears must have been paid into the Treasury, the Attorney-General, under a reference of Lords Cornwallis and Castlereagh, was induced to sanction the transaction as reported; *viz.* " under *all its circumstances*," to forego the debt, except two thousand pounds. Every effort was made to find if any such sum as two thousand pounds was credited to the public, and none such was discovered. The fact is, that Lord Naas owed ten thousand pounds, consequently Sir William owed twenty thousand; that he never *bonâ fide* paid to the public one shilling; which, with a peerage, the patronage of his county, and the pecuniary pickings also received by himself, altogether formed a tolerably strong bribe even for a more qualmish conscience than that of Sir William.

a work of this description. But it will suffice to convince the British empire, that the Union between England and Ireland was the corrupt work of the very Minister who was afterwards called over, with his Irish flock, to become the shepherd of the British nation.

The few following, authenticated examples of corrupt seduction, by Lords Cornwallis and Castlereagh individually, may give some idea of the general system:—

Mr. Francis Knox and Mr. Crowe, two Irish barristers, were returned to Parliament for the close borough of Philipstown, under the patronage of Lord Belvidere. In the session of 1799 they violently opposed the Union. Mr. Knox said, "I am satisfied that, in point of "commerce, England has not any thing to give to this country; but, were "it otherwise, I would not condescend to argue the subject; for I would "not surrender the liberties of my country for the *riches of the universe!* "I cannot find words to express the *horror* I feel at a proposition so "exremely degrading. It is insulting to entertain it, even for a moment. "What! shall we deliberate whether this kingdom shall cease to exist; "whether this land shall be struck from the scale of nations; whether its "very name is to be erased from the map of the world for ever? Shall it, "I say, be a question, whether we surrender to another separate country, "and to another separate legislature, the lives, liberties, and properties of "five millions of people, who *delegated us* to defend, but not to destroy, "the constitution? It is a monstrous proposition, and should be con-"sidered, merely in order to mingle our disgust and execration with those "of the people, and then to dash it from us, never to be resumed!" Mr. Crowe held similar language.

The Earl of Belvidere then called a meeting of the county of Westmeath, to enter into resolutions against the Union; and his proposed resolutions, in his own hand-writing, declaratory of his resistance to that measure, are here inserted. Mr. Crowe termed its supporters "flagitious culprits," and boldly declaimed against the unexampled profligacy of the Viceroy and his Irish Secretary. It is fortunate for history that irrefragable proofs exist of this statement, and that Great Britain may peruse the mode by which Ireland has been united to her. Every line of such documents might well form a ground of prosecutions or impeachment, for high crimes and misdemeanours, against both the Viceroy and the Secretary.

The Earl of Belvidere and his two friends had expressed themselves too strongly against the Union, and were of too much importance to be left untempted. The Marquess, therefore, undertook to manage the peer, whilst Lord Castlereagh engaged to seduce the commoners. Mr. Usher, the Earl's chaplain, wise man, and adviser, was also enlisted to effect the seduction of his patron and of his accessories. The negociation completely succeeded.

The English nation will scarcely believe the fact, that, within a few months, his Lordship, with Mr. Knox and Mr. Crowe, were literally purchased; and, in four months after publishing the resolutions against the Union, new resolutions, in favour of the measure, were circulated by his Lordship among his tenantry. As soon as the bribe was fixed, as he conceived, the whole of his Lordship's former principles were recanted, and condemned as hasty, and against the general opinion of the people.

Lord Cornwallis had now gained his point, and turned round on the apostates—they were disgraced traitors: they were now helpless—they

Resolutions in the hand writing of the Earl of Belvidere, prepared by him for the Freeholders of the County of West Meath against a Legislative Union in 1799 – His Lordship afterwards voted for & supported that measure warmly.

Resolved that the free & independent Legislature of Ireland having been unequivocally established every measure that tends to encroach on it calls for our implicit disaprobation —

the depending project of a Union with great Britain the appearance of being merely a loans for of the Parliament is in fact a complete extinction of it —

that it is the duty of Irishmen of every description to come forward & by all constitutional means to resist a Scheme so subversive of the real Interest prosperity & Dignity of their Country —

That we entertain too high an opinion of the integrity of our Representatives to suppose them capable of voting away the rights of the people had a power of such a nature been ever vested in them

durst not again recant. The terms had been munificent—nothing required by Lord Belvidere had been refused by the Marquess; but after he had made their defection public and irrevocable, he gave his Lordship to understand that there was a misconception as to the terms, which, being matters of detail, could be more properly arranged by the Secretary; and thus he turned them over to the mercy of Lord Castlereagh. His Lordship, seeing they were entrapped beyond the power of escaping, soon convinced them that he also knew how to despise the instruments he had corrupted. Mr. Usher, the chaplain, was to be remunerated for soothing the conscience of Lord Belvidere—the clergy are seldom reluctant when good bargains are going forward: but a general dissatisfaction now arose among all the parties. Usher, however, was contented; he got a cure of souls for his political guilt, and, after having aided in corruption, went to preach purity to his parishioners!

The English people would scarcely credit the most accurate historian, did not the annexed letter* prove the whole transaction, and leave them to ruminate upon the nefarious system to which they were themselves subject, under the same Minister. In England, an impeachment would have been the result of this disclosure; but, in Ireland, it was the *least* of Lord Castlereagh's malpractices.

When the English reflect upon their finances, their subsidies, their congresses, and their treaties under his administration, they may form a reasonable idea of his Lordship's principles, and will appreciate the remorse that terminated his dictatorship.

* See *fac simile* of Mr. Crowe's Letter in the Appendix.

This transaction between Lords Cornwallis and Castlereagh, and Lord Belvidere and Messrs. Knox and Crowe, ought to be one of the most useful lessons to the British nation; there will be seen, in the sad fate of Ireland, the means by which their own liberties may be destroyed.

Before the third reading of the Bill, when it was about to be reported, Mr. Charles Ball, Member for Clogher, rose, and, without speaking one word, looked round impressively—every eye was directed to him—he only pointed his hand significantly to the bar, and immediately walked forth, casting a parting look behind him, and turning his eyes to Heaven, as if to invoke vengeance on the enemies of his country. His example was contagious. Those Anti-Unionists who were in the House immediately followed his example, and never returned into that Senate which had been the glory, the guardian, and the protection of their country. There was but one scene more, and the curtain was to drop for ever*.

* One of those singular incidents which, though trivial, occasionally produce a great sensation, occurred in the progress of the Bill, on the debate respecting the local representation. From the nature of the subject and the strong feelings of every party, the slightest incident, the most immaterial word, or unimportant action, was construed into an indication of something momentous. Mr. Charles Ball, the new Member for Clogher, was a most ardent, impetuous, and even furious opponent of a Union, on any terms or under any circumstances. He was a very large, eager, boisterous, and determined man; he uttered whatever he thought, and there was no restraining his sentiments. In the midst of the crowded coffee-room he declared his astonishment, that whilst hundreds of wretched men every day sacrificed their lives in resisting those who openly attacked their liberty, there were none who did not at once rid their country of the monsters who were betraying it. "It could be easily done," said he, "by a few hand-grenades, or shells, thrown from the gallery when you ministerial gentlemen are locked up for a division."

The extravagance of the idea excited general merriment; but there were some who actually

The day of extinguishing the liberties of Ireland had now arrived, and the sun took his last view of independent Ireland—he rose no more over a proud and prosperous nation—she was now condemned, by the British Minister, to renounce her rank amongst the States of Europe—she was sentenced to cancel her constitution, to disband her Commons, and disfranchise her nobility—to proclaim her incapacity, and register her corruption in the records of the empire. On this fatal event, some, whose honesty the tempter could not destroy—some, whose honour he durst not assail—and many who could not control the useless language of indignation, prudently withdrew from a

conceived the practicability of the scheme. Mr. Ball, with affected gravity, added, that he had heard such a plan was intended; and this only increased the previous merriment. The House presently commenced its sitting, and Mr. Secretary Cooke had taken the chair of the Committee, when suddenly a voice like thunder burst from the gallery, which was crowded to excess. "Now" (roared the Stentor), "now let the bloodiest assassin take the chair!—let the bloodiest "assassin take the chair!"

Any attempt at description of the scene would be unavailing—the shells and hand-grenades of Mr. Ball presented themselves to every man's imagination. All was terror and confusion: many pressed towards the doors, but the door-keepers had fled, and turned the keys to prevent the escape of the culprit. A few hats fell by accident from the galleries, which were in a state of tumult. These appeared like bomb-shells to the terrified Members: pocket pistols and swords were upon the point of being produced; every man seemed to expect the bloody assassins to rush in hundreds from the galleries. No explosion, however, took place; no assassins descended; and a scuffle in the gallery was succeeded by an exclamation, "We have secured him! We have secured him!" which restored some confidence to the senators. The serjeant-at-arms now ascended, sword in hand, and was followed by many of the Members, whose courage had been quiescent till there was a certainty of no danger. Mr. Denis Brown, as a forlorn hope, was the first to mount the gallery. After a valiant resistance, an Herculean gentleman was forced down

scene where they would have witnessed only the downfal of their country. Every precaution was taken by Lord Clare for the security, at least, of his own person. The Houses of Parliament were closely invested by the military—no demonstration of popular feeling was permitted—a British regiment, near the entrance, patrolled through the Ionic colonnades—the chaste architecture of that classic structure seemed as a monument to the falling Irish, to remind them of what they had been, and to tell them what they were. It was a heart-rending sight to those who loved their country—it was a sting to those who sold it—and to those who purchased it, a victory—but to none has it been a triumph. Eight and twenty years of miserable experience should now convince the British people that they

into the body of the House, by a hundred hands. As soon as he was effectually secured, all the Members were most courageous; some pommelled, some kicked him, and at length he was thrown flat upon the floor, and firmly pinioned. The whole power of Parliament, however, could not protect them from his eloquence; and most powerfully did he use his tongue. The gigantic appearance of the man struck every body with awe, and none but the lawyers had the least conception that he was a Mr. Sinclair, one of the most quiet and well-behaved barristers of the whole profession. He was a respectable, independent, and idle member of the Irish Bar, but an enthusiast against a Union. He had dined with a party of the same opinions at the house of a friend, who was undoubtedly a madman, but whose excellent wine and wild conversation had elevated Mr. Sinclair so very far above all dread, that he declared he would himself, that night, in spite of all the traitors, make a speech in the House, and give them his full opinion of the only measure that should be taken against them. He accordingly repaired to the gallery, and, on seeing the Secretary take the chair, he could no longer contain himself, and attempted to leap down among the Members; but being restrained by some friends who were with him, he determined to make his speech, and commenced with the most appalling expression of what he conceived should be the fate of the Unionists. He was committed to Newgate by the House, and remained there till the session ended.

have gained neither strength, nor affection, nor tranquillity, by their acquisition; and that if population be the "wealth of nations," Ireland is getting by far too rich to be governed much longer as a pauper.

The British people knew not the true history of the Union—that the brilliant promises, the predictions of rapid prosperity, and "consolidating resources*," were but chimerical. Whilst the finest principles of the constitution were sapped to effect the measure, England, by the subjugation of her sister kingdom, has (as yet) gained only an accumulation of debt—an accession of venality to her Parliament—a schism in her cabinet—an embarrassment in her councils, and, possibly, a prospective danger to the integrity of the empire. The name of Union has been acquired, but the attainment of the substance will depend on the adoption of some wiser system of Government.

The Commons House of Parliament, on the last evening, afforded the most melancholy example of a fine independent people, betrayed, divided, sold, and, as a State, annihilated. British clerks and officers were smuggled into her Parliament to vote away the constitution of a country to which they were strangers, and in which they had neither interest nor connexion. They were employed to cancel the royal charter of the Irish nation, guaranteed by the British Government, sanctioned by the British legislature, and unequivocally confirmed by the words, the signature, and the great seal of their monarch.

The situation of the Speaker, on that night, was of the most dis-

* "*Consolidating the strength and resources of the Empire*" was Lord Castlereagh's *fundamental* argument on proposing that measure: but he lived long enough to see that it had the very contrary operation.

tressing nature; a sincere and ardent enemy of the measure, he headed its opponents; he resisted it with all the power of his mind, the resources of his experience, his influence, and his eloquence.

It was, however, through his voice that it was to be proclaimed and consummated. His only alternative (resignation) would have been unavailing, and could have added nothing to his character. His expressive countenance bespoke the inquietude of his feelings; solicitude was perceptible in every glance, and his embarrassment was obvious in every word he uttered.

The galleries were full, but the change was lamentable; they were no longer crowded with those who had been accustomed to witness the eloquence and to animate the debates of that devoted assembly. A monotonous and melancholy murmur ran through the benches—scarcely a word was exchanged amongst the Members—nobody seemed at ease—no cheerfulness was apparent—and the ordinary business, for a short time, proceeded in the usual manner.

At length the expected moment arrived—the order of the day for the third reading of the Bill, for a "Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland," was moved by Lord Castlereagh — unvaried, tame, cold-blooded, the words seemed frozen as they issued from his lips; and, as if a simple citizen of the world, he seemed to have no sensation on the subject.

At that moment he had no country—no god but his ambition; he made his motion, and resumed his seat, with the utmost composure and indifference.

Confused murmurs again ran through the House — it was visibly

affected—every character, in a moment, seemed involuntarily rushing to its index;—some pale, some flushed, some agitated; there were few countenances to which the heart did not despatch some messenger. Several Members withdrew before the question could be repeated, and an awful, momentary silence succeeded their departure. The Speaker rose slowly from that chair which had been the proud source of his honours and of his high character: for a moment he resumed his seat, but the strength of his mind sustained him in his duty, though his struggle was apparent. With that dignity which never failed to signalize his official actions, he held up the Bill for a moment in silence; he looked steadily around him on the last agony of the expiring Parliament. He at length repeated, in an emphatic tone, "as many as are of opinion that THIS BILL do pass, say aye." The affirmative was languid but indisputable—another momentary pause ensued—again his lips seemed to decline their office—at length, with an eye averted from the object which he hated, he proclaimed, with a subdued voice, "*the* AYES *have it.*" The fatal sentence was now pronounced—for an instant he stood statue-like; then indignantly, and with disgust, flung the Bill upon the table, and sunk into his chair with an exhausted spirit. An independent country was thus degraded into a province—Ireland, as a nation, was EXTINGUISHED.

RED LIST,

OR THE

MEMBERS WHO VOTED AGAINST THE UNION IN 1799 AND 1800;

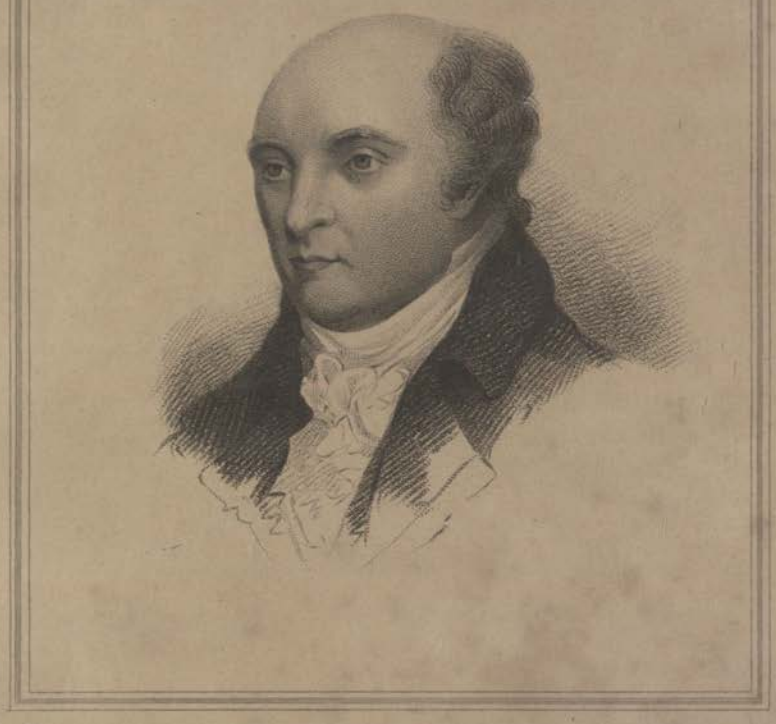
WITH OBSERVATIONS.

Those Names with a * affixed to them, are County Members; those with a †, City Members; and those with a §, Borough Members; those in *Italics* CHANGED SIDES, and got either Money or Offices.

			OBSERVATIONS.
1.*	Honourable A. Acheson		Son to Lord Gosford.
2.*	William C. Alcock	dead	County Wexford.
3.*	Mervyn Archdall.....	dead	County Fermanagh.
4.§	W. H. Armstrong.....		Refused *all* terms from Government.
5.*	*Sir Richard Butler*.....	dead	*Changed sides.*—See *Black* List.
6.*	*John Bagwell*	dead	*Changed sides* TWICE.—See *Black* List.
7.§	Peter Burrowes		Now Judge of the Insolvent Court—a steady Anti-Unionist.
8.§	*John Bagwell, Jun.*	dead	*Changed sides.*—See *Black* List.
9.†	John Ball	dead	Member for Drogheda—*incorruptible.*
10.†	Charles Ball	dead	Brother to the preceding.
11.†	Sir Jonah Barrington		King's Counsel—Judge of the Admiralty—*refused all* terms.
12.§	Charles Bushe		Afterwards Solicitor General, now Chief Justice of Ireland—incorruptible.
13.†	John Claudius Beresford ...		*Seceded* from Mr. Ponsonby in 1799, on his declaration of Independence. That secession was fatal to Ireland.
14.	*Arthur Brown*	dead	Member for the University, *changed sides* in 1800—was appointed Prime Serjeant by Lord Castlereagh, through Mr. Cooke: of all others the most open and palpable case.—See Black List.

			OBSERVATIONS.
15.§	William Blakeney	dead	*A Pensioner*, but opposed Government.
16.*	William Burton	dead	Sold his *Borough*, Carlow, to a Unionist (Lord Tullamoore), but remained staunch himself.
17.*	H. V. Brooke	dead	
18.§	Blayney Balfour.		
19.§	David Babbington.....		Connected with Lord Belmore.
20.†	Honourable James Butler...		(Now Marquess Ormonde) *voted in* 1800 *against a Union*, but with Government on Lord Corry's Motion.
21.*	Colonel John Maxwell Barry		(Now Lord Farnham) Nephew to the Speaker.
22.§	*William Bagwell*		*Changed sides* TWICE, concluded as a *Unionist.*—See Black List.
23.*	Viscount Corry		(Now Lord Belmore) dismissed from his regiment by Lord Cornwallis—a zealous leader of the Opposition.
24.†	*Robert Crowe*.....		A Barrister, bribed by Lord Castlereagh.—*See* his *fac-simile* Letter to Lord Belvidere.
25.*	Lord Clements		(Now Lord Leitrim.)
26.*	Lord Cole		(Now Lord Enniskillen) *unfortunately* dissented from Mr. Ponsonby's Motion for a declaration of independence in 1799, *whereby* the Union was revived and *carried.*
27.§	Honourable Lowry Cole.....		A General—brother to Lord Cole.
28.*	R. Shapland Carew	dead	
29.†	*Honourable A. Creighton*...		*Changed sides*, and became a Unionist.—See Black List.
30.†	*Honourable J. Creighton*...		*Changed sides.*—See Black List.
31.*	Joseph Edward Cooper.....	dead	
32.†	*James Cane*	dead	*Changed sides.*—See Black List.
33.*	Lord Caulfield		(Now Earl Charlemont) Son to Earl Charlemont, a principal Leader of the Opposition.
34.†	Henry Coddington	dead	
35.§	George Crookshank		A Son of the Judge of the Common Pleas.
36.*	Dennis B. Daly.....	dead	Brother-in-law to Mr. Ponsonby—a most active Anti-Unionist.
37.†	Noah Dalway	dead	

			OBSERVATIONS.
38.*	Richard Dawson	dead	
39.*	Arthur Dawson	dead	Formerly a Banker, father to the late Under-Secretary.
40.*	Francis Dobbs	dead	Famous for his Doctrine on the Millennium—an ENTHUSIASTIC Anti-Unionist.
41.†	John Egan	dead	King's Counsel, Chairman of Kilmainham—offered a Judge's Seat, but could not be purchased, though far from rich.
42.	R. L. Edgeworth		
43.†	George Evans		Of Portrane, son-in-law of Sir John Parnell.
44.*	Sir John Freke, Bart.....		(Now Lord Carberry.)
45.*	Frederick Falkiner	dead	Though a distressed person, could not be purchased.
46.§	Rt. Hon. James Fitzgerald		Prime Serjeant of Ireland—could *not* be bought, and was dismissed from his high office by Lord Cornwallis—father to Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald.
47.*	William Charles Fortescue (poisoned by accident.)	dead	One of the three who inconsiderately opposed Mr. Ponsonby, *and thereby carried the Union.*
48.*	Rt. Hon. John Foster		Speaker, the chief of the Opposition throughout the whole contest.
49.	Honourable Thomas Foster.		
50.*	*Sir T. Featherston, Bart...*	dead	*Changed sides.*—See Black List.
51.*	Arthur French		Unfortunately coincided with Mr. Fortescue in 1799, against Mr. Ponsonby.
52.§	*Chichester Fortescue*.....	dead	King at Arms—*brought over in* 1800, by Lord Castlereagh—voted both sides—*ended* a Unionist.
53.§	*William Gore*	dead	*Bought* by Lord Castlereagh in 1800.
54.§	Hamilton Georges.....	dead	A distressed man, but *could not* be purchased—father-in-law to Secretary Cooke.
55.§	Rt. Hon. Henry Grattan ...	dead	
56.§	Thomas Gold.....		Now Serjeant, brought into Parliament by the Anti-Unionists.
57.†	Hans Hamilton.....	dead	Member for Dublin County.
58.†	Edward Hardman.....	dead	City of Drogheda—the Speaker's friend.
59.§	Francis Hardy	dead	Author of the Life of Charlemont—brother-in-law to the Bishop of Down.
60.§	Sir Joseph Hoare.		



Heath, sculp.

SIR JOHN MACARTNEY.

Pubd. March 2. 1818. by G. Robinson, Paternoster Row, London.

			OBSERVATIONS.
61.*	William Hoare Hume	dead	Wicklow County.
62.§	Edward Hoare	dead	Though *very* old, and *stone blind*, attended all the debates, and sat up all the nights of debate.
63.§	Bartholmew Hoare	dead	King's Counsel.
64.§	Alexander Hamilton.....	dead	King's Counsel—son to the Baron.
65.§	Honourable A. C. Hamilton	dead	
66.§	Sir Francis Hopkins, Bart.	dead	Prevailed on to take money to *vacate*, in 1800, and let in a Unionist.
67.†	H. Irwin	dead	
68.*	Gilbert King.....	dead	
69.†	Charles King.....	dead	
70.*	Honourable Robert King.		
71.*	Lord Kingsborough		(Now Earl Kingston.)
72.	Honourable George Knox...		Brother to Lord Northland—lukewarm.
73.†	Francis Knox	dead	Vacated his Seat for Lord Castlereagh.—See *fac-simile* of Mr. Crowe's Letter, in the Appendix.
74.*	Right Hon. Henry King ..	dead	
75.†	Major King	dead	He opened the Bishop of Clogher's Borough in 1800.
76.§	Gustavus Lambert		Brother to Countess Talbot.
77.*	David Latouche, Jun.	dead	Banker.
78.§	Robert Latouche.		Ditto.
79.§	John Latouche, Sen.	dead	Ditto.
80.§	John Latouche, Jun.	dead	Ditto.
81.*	Charles Powell Leslie	dead	
82.*	Edward Lee.		Member for the County of Waterford—zealous.
83.†	Sir Thomas Lighton, Bt.	dead	A Banker.
84.*	Lord Maxwell.....	dead	Died Lord Farnham.
85.*	Alexander Montgomery ...	dead	
86.§	Sir John M'Cartney, Bart.	dead	Much distressed, but could not be bribed—nephew, by affinity, to the Speaker.
87.§	*William Thomas Mansel*	dead	Actually *purchased* by Lord Castlereagh.
88.§	*Stephen Moore Clonmell* ...	dead	Changed sides on Lord Corry's Motion.—See Debates.
89.§	John Moore.		
90.	Arthur Moore		Now a Judge of the Common Pleas—a staunch Anti-Unionist.

			OBSERVATIONS.
91.*	Lord Mathew		(Now Earl Llandaff) Tipperary County.
92.§	Thomas Mahon		
93.§	John Metge	dead	Brother to the Baron of the Exchequer.
94.§	*Richard Neville*	dead	Had been a dismissed treasury officer—*sold his vote* to be *reinstated—changed sides.*—See Black List.
95.§	Thomas Newenham.....		The Author of various Works on Ireland—one of the steadiest Anti-Unionists.
96.*	Charles O'Hara	dead	Sligo County.
97.*	Sir Edward O'Brien		Clare County.
98.§	Colonel Hugh O'Donnell...	dead	A most *ardent* Anti-Unionist—lost his regiment.
99.§	James Moore O'Donnell ...		Killed by Mr. Bingham in a duel.
100.§	Hon. W. O'Callaghan.....		Brother to Lord Lismore.
101.	Henry Osborn		
102.*	Right Hon. George Ogle...	dead	Wexford County.
103.§	Joseph Preston	dead	An eccentric character—could not be purchased.
104.*	*John Preston*	dead	Of Bellintor, was *purchased* by a title (Lord Tara), and his brother, a Parson, got a Living.
105.*	Rt. Hon. Sir John Parnell	dead	Chancellor of the Exchequer, dismissed by Lord Castlereagh—incorruptible.
106.§	Henry Parnell*		His son, now Sir Henry Parnell.
107.§	W. Conyngham Plunket...		Now Lord Plunket—see his able speech *(Appendix).*
108.*	Rt. Hon. W. B. Ponsonby	dead	Afterwards Lord Ponsonby.
109.§	J. B. Ponsonby		(Now Lord Ponsonby.)
110.§	Major W. Ponsonby.....		A General, killed at Waterloo.
111.*	Rt. Hon. G. Ponsonby	dead	Afterwards Lord Chancellor, died of apoplexy.
112.*	Sir Laurence Parsons		Kings County, now Earl of Rosse—made a remarkably fine speech.
113§.	Richard Power	dead	Nephew to the Baron of the Exchequer.
114.*	*Abel Ram*.....		*Changed sides.*
115.*	*Gustavus Rochfort*		County Westmeath, seduced by Government, and *changed sides* in 1800.—See Black List.
116.§	John Staunton Rochfort ...		Nephew to the Speaker.

* Sir John Parnell was one of the ablest supporters of Government of his day (see his character, Vol. I., p. 118). His son has taken assiduously a more extensive and deeper field of business in finance, but in any other point, public or private, has no advantage over his father.

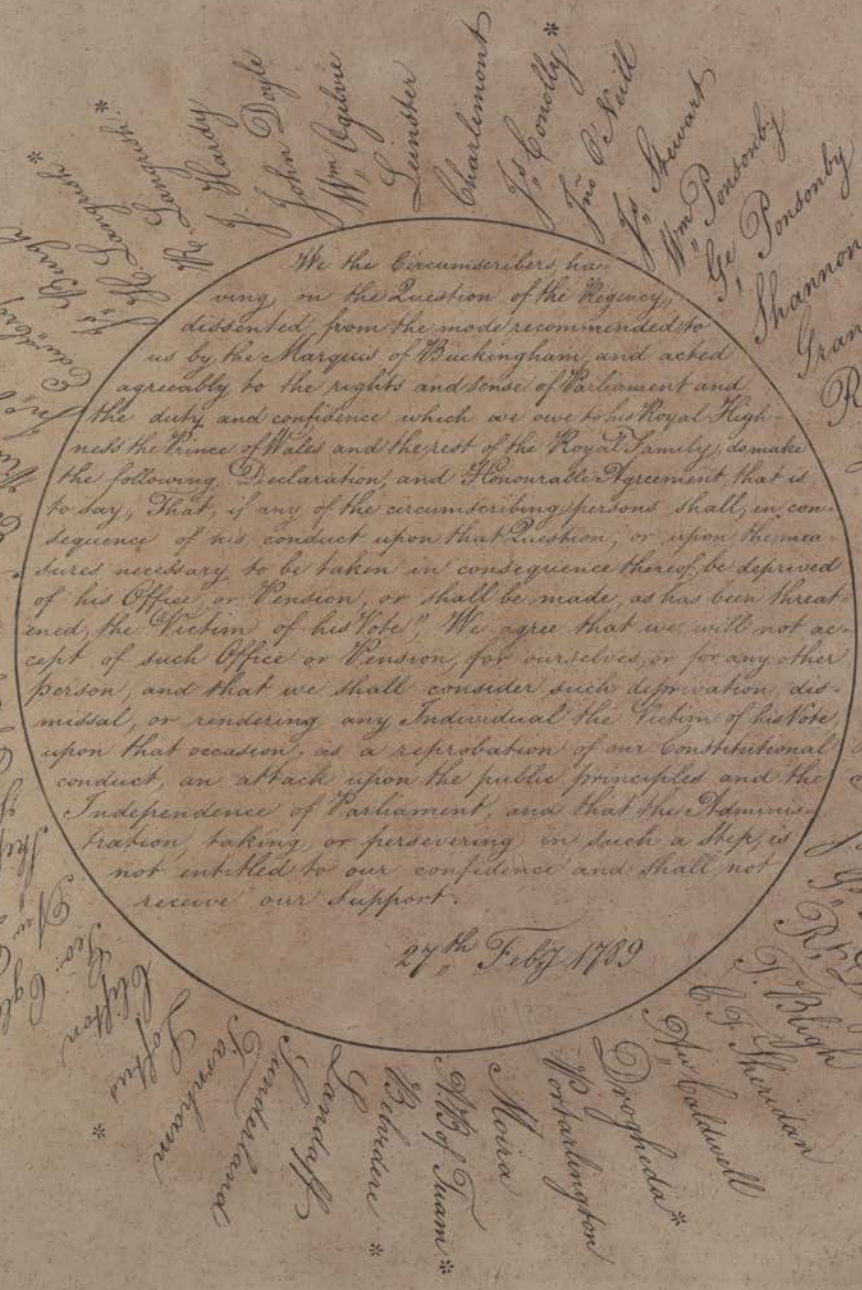
		OBSERVATIONS.
117. Sir William Richardson.....	dead	
118.§ *John Reily*	dead	*Changed sides.*—See Black List.
119. William E. Reily		
120.§ Charles Ruxton.		
121.§ William P. Ruxton.		
122.* *Clotworthy Rowley*		*Changed sides.*—See Black List.
123.§ *William Rowley*		*Changed sides.*—See Ditto.
124.§ *J. Rowley*.....		*Changed sides.*—See Ditto.
125.* Francis Saunderson.....	dead	
126.* William Smyth		Westmeath.
127.* James Stewart.		
128.§ Hon. W. J. Skeffington...	dead	
129.* Francis Savage.		
130.§ Francis Synge.		
131.§ Henry Stewart.		
132.§ Sir Richard St. George, Bt.		
133.§ *Hon. Benjamin Stratford*		Now Lord Aldborough, gained by Lord Castlereagh —*changed sides.*—See Black List.
134.* Nathaniel Sneyd.		
135.* *Thomas Stannus*.....	dead	*Changed sides*, Lord Portarlington's Member.—See Black List.
136.§ Robert Shaw		A Banker.
137.§ Rt. Hon. William Saurin		Afterwards Attorney-General—a steady but calm Anti-Unionist.
138.§ William Tighe	dead	
139.§ Henry Tighe	dead	
140.§ John Taylor.....	dead	
141.§ Thomas Townshend.		
142.* Hon. Richard Trench.....		Voted against the Union in 1799—was gained by Lord Castlereagh, whose relative he married, and voted for it in 1800—was created an Earl, and made an Ambassador to Holland—one of the Vienna Carvers —and a Dutch Marquess.
143.* Hon. R. Taylor.		

			OBSERVATIONS.
144.§	Charles Vereker		(Now Lord Gort) City Limerick.
145.§	Owen Wynne.		
146.*	John Waller.		
147.§	E. D. Willson.		
148.§	*Thomas Whaley*	dead	First voted *against* the Union—*purchased* by Lord Castlereagh—he was Lord Clare's brother-in-law.—See Black List.
149.*	Nicholas Westby.....	dead	
150.*	John Wolfe.....	dead	Member for the County Wicklow—Colonel of the Kildare Militia, refused to vote for Government, and was cashiered—could not be purchased.

By the Red and Black Lists (published at the time, the *originals* being now in the Author's possession) it is *evident*, beyond all contradiction, that of those who had, in 1799, successfully opposed the Union, or had *declared* against it, Lord Castlereagh palpably purchased *twenty-five* before the *second* discussion in 1800, which made a difference of fifty votes in favour of Government; and it is therefore equally evident, that, by the public and actual bribery of those twenty-five Members, and not by any change of opinion in the country, or any fair or honest majority, Mr. Pitt and his instruments carried the Union in the Commons House of Parliament; and it is proper the English nation should know accurately *how* they have acquired the *incumbrance* of Ireland in its present form, and what little importance was set on every principle of the British Constitution, in the mind of the same Minister whom they immediately afterward entrusted with their own liberties—their money—and their national reputation—every one of which was more or less sacrificed, or squandered, during his administration in England, and his negociations at Vienna.

The observations annexed to the names in these Lists were, at the time, either in actual proof, or sufficiently notorious to have been printed in various documents at that epoch. As to the House of Lords, the servile—almost miraculous—submission with which they surrendered their hereditary prerogatives, honours, rights, and dignities, into the hands of the Lords Clare and Castlereagh, is a subject unprecedented. But this being announced for discussion by the Imperial Parliament, in the ensuing session, through the interference of Lord Rossmore, &c., &c., no list of the Lords is here given, in order not to anticipate that parliamentary stricture, which will be no doubt more potent and elucidating than any which could with propriety be made in any other place than in that august assembly. As the capitulation was disgusting, the discussion must be severe.

The Round Robin Agreement, entered into February 27th 1789, by the Members of both Houses of Parliament, in opposition to the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland


We the Circumscribers having, in the Question of the Regency, dissented from the mode recommended to us by the Marquis of Buckingham, and acted agreeably to the rights and sense of Parliament and the duty and confidence which we owe to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and the rest of the Royal Family, do make the following Declaration, and Honourable Agreement that is to say, That, if any of the circumscribing persons shall, in consequence of his conduct upon that Question, or upon the measures necessary to be taken in consequence thereof, be deprived of his Office or Pension, or shall be made, as has been threatened, the "Victim of his Vote", We agree that we will not accept of such Office or Pension, for ourselves, or for any other person, and that we shall consider such deprivation, dismissal, or rendering any Individual the Victim of his Vote upon that occasion, as a reprobation of our Constitutional conduct, an attack upon the public principles and the Independence of Parliament, and that the Administration taking, or persevering in such a Step, is not entitled to our confidence and shall not receive our support.
27th Febry 1789

Note — The Individuals whose names are marked with a Star (*) voted for the Union and against Irish Independence.

October 4th - 1799

My Dear Lord

This moment yours of the 3d Inst. has been delivered by the Postman. I am heartily concerned that I am obliged to differ with your Lordship (for the first time during a three and twenty years Friendship) in point of Fact as to what passed between you and Lord Cornwallis, it has nothing to do with the present Question which is simply "whether the agree-"ment made by Mr. Knox with Lord Castlereagh is to be ad-"hered to or violated" this agreement was two months sub-sequent to your Conversation with Lord Cornwallis and you will recollect you had two Interviews with the Viceroy, the latter of which was by no means so flattering as the first, and was very far from holding out splendid Expectations but all prior discussions are always done away by a subsequent agreement, for otherwise it would be absurd ever to think of making one, which would be always open to be departed from by any of the parties on a Suggestion that in a prior Conversation this thing was said or the other thing was offered — an agreement once made and nothing remains but to carry it into effect according to its terms as fast as possible — the business then comes to this, what was the agreement made by Mr. Knox with Lord Castlereagh respecting the only point that has induced your Lordship to delay matters all the rest being confessedly understood namely

"the vacating Mr. Knox's Seat and mine in order to give the
"Return of the two members to Government in our Places"

This particular Mr. Knox stated distinctly and explicitly
"that Lord Castlereagh at the Outset of the Negotiation
laid it down
"as a sine qua non. that we must vacate our Seats in the
" present Parliament and that he should have the nomina=
" tion of the two new Members" but such a disinclination
as your Lordship conceives of vacating for the question of
Union, and in case Government should be defeated on that
measure that those two new members should vacate and
that you should have a Power of nominating in their
stead for the remainder of the Parliament, never in the
slightest degree was made by Mr. Knox nor even by your
Lordship, but on the Contrary your Lordship assented to
that part as well as to every other part of the
Treaty with Lord Castlereagh, and from the Instant you
thus gave your Assent a full compleat and
perfect agreement took place— Mr. Foster was present
at all this, and it is his duty to come forward and
declare the Fact—

this Negotiation commenced and from that period to this on the 10th of July
I have been kept in Town from any Concern in Clare
in constant expectation of having it concluded, and now
nearly at the end of three months to have it all upset
is very severe— As to the Engagement that your
Lordship describes and that your Burgesses signed, it

is a direct contradiction to that part of the agreement it professes to be conformable to, and is so much trouble for nothing — but what appears extraordinary to me along with all the rest of this extraordinary business is, that your Lordship should prepare or get this Engagement signed after you were apprized both by Mr. Knox's Letter and mine, to you and Mr. Lester that any thing short of the identical Paper sent down by Mr. Knox, would not answer ——
I have nothing more to add than to request your Lordship will bring Mr. Lester up with you directly ——

I am my Dear Lord
Yours most sincerely
Robt. Crowe

To the Earl of Belvidere
&c &c &c

BLACK LIST.

		OBSERVATIONS.
1. R. Aldridge		An English Clerk in the Secretary's Office—*no* connexion with Ireland.
2. Henry Alexander	dead	Chairman of Ways and Means; cousin of Lord Caledon; his brother made a Bishop.
3. Richard Archdall.....	dead	Commissioner of the Board of Works.
4. William Bailey.....	dead	Commissioner of Ditto.
5. Right Hon. John Beresford...	dead	First Commissioner of Revenue; brother-in-law to Lord Clare.
6. John Beresford, Jun.		Then Purse-bearer to Lord Clare, afterwards a Parson, and now Lord Decies.
7. Marcus Beresford.....	dead	A Colonel in the Army, son to the Bishop, Lord Clare's nephew.
8. J. Bingham*	dead	Created a Peer, got £.8,000 for two seats, and £.15,000 compensation for Tuam. This gentleman first offered himself for sale to the Anti-Unionists—Lord Clanmorris.
9. Joseph H. Blake	dead	Created a Peer—Lord Wallscourt, &c.
10. Sir J. G. Blackwood		Created a Peer—Lord Dufferin.
11. Sir John Blaquiere	dead	Numerous Offices and Pensions, and created a Peer—Lord De Blaquiere.

* The Author of this Work was deputed to learn from Mr. Bingham what his expectations from Government for his seats were; he proposed to take from the Opposition £.8,000 for his two seats for Tuam, and oppose the Union. Government afterwards added a Peerage, and £.15,000 for the Borough.

		OBSERVATIONS.
12. Anthony Botet.....	dead	Appointed Commissioner of the Barrack Board, £.500 a Year.
13. Colonel Burton		Brother to Lord Conyngham—a Colonel in the Army.
14. *Sir Richard Butler*.....	dead	Purchased and changed sides; voted *against* the Union in 1799, and *for* it in 1800.
15. Lord Boyle		Son to Lord Shannon; they got an *immense* sum of money for their Seats and Boroughs—at £.15,000 each Borough.
16. Right Hon. Dennis Brown ...	dead	
17. Stewart Bruce		Gentleman Usher at Dublin Castle—now a Baronet.
18. George Burdet.....	dead	Commissioner of a Public Board, £.500 *per Annum*.
19. George Bunbury		Ditto.
20. *Arthur Brown*	dead	*Changed sides and principles*, and was appointed Serjeant—in 1799 opposed Union, and supported it in 1800; he was Senior Fellow of Dublin University —lost his seat the ensuing election, and died.
21. —— *Bagwell, Sen.*	dead	*Changed twice*, got half the patronage of Tipperary, his son a Dean, &c. &c.
22. —— *Bagwell, Jun*.....	dead	*Ditto*, got the Tipperary Regiment, &c.
23. William Bagwell		His brother.
24. Lord Castlereagh.....	dead	The Irish Minister.
25. George Cavendish		Secretary to the Treasury during pleasure—son to Sir Henry.
26. Sir Henry Cavendish	dead	Receiver-General during pleasure, deeply indebted to the Crown.
27. Sir Broderick Chinnery	dead	Placed in Office after the Union.
28. James Cane	dead	Renegaded, and got a Pension.
29 Thomas Casey.....		A Commission of Bankrupts under Lord Clare—made a City Magistrate.
30. Colonel C. Cope		Renegaded, got a Regiment, and the patronage of his county.
31. General Cradock		Returned by Government—much military rank—now Lord Howden.
32. James Crosby		A Regiment, and the patronage of Kerry, jointly; seconded the Address.

		OBSERVATIONS.
33. Edward Cooke.....	dead	Under Secretary at the Castle.
34. Charles Henry Coote	dead	Obtained a Regiment, which was taken from Colonel Warburton, patronage of Queen's County, and a Peerage (Lord Castlecoote); and £.7,500 in cash for his interest at the Borough of Maryborough; in which, in fact, it was *proved* before the Commissioners that the author of this work had more interest than his Lordship.
35. Right Hon. Isaac Corry.....	dead	Appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, on dismissal of Sir John Parnell.
36. Sir J. Cotter		Privately brought over.
37. Richard Cotter.		
38. Hon. H. Creighton		Renegades (see Red List) privately purchased.
39. Hon. J. Creighton		
40. W. A. Crosbie.....	dead	Comptroller to the Lord Lieutenant's Household.
41. James Cuffe.....	dead	Son to Mr. Cuffe, of the Board of Works—created Lord Tyrawly.
42. General Dunne		Returned for Maryborough by the *united* influence of Lord Castlecoote and *Government*, to keep out Mr. Barrington; gained the election by only *one*.
43. William Elliott	dead	Secretary at the Castle.
44. General Eustace	dead	A Regiment.
45. Lord Charles Fitzgerald.....	dead	Duke of Leinster's brother—a Pension, and a Peerage —a Sea Officer of no repute.
46. Right Hon. Wm. Fitzgerald		
47. Sir Christopher Fortescue ...	dead	Renegaded (see Red List) Officer, King at Arms.
48. A. Fergusson		Got a place at the Barrack Board, £.500 a Year, and a Baronetcy.
49. Luke Fox	dead	Appointed Judge of Common Pleas—nephew by marriage to Lord Ely.
50. William Fortescue		Got a *secret* Pension, *out* of a fund (£.3,000 a Year) entrusted by Parliament to the Irish Government, *solely* to reward Mr. Reynolds, Cope, &c. &c., and those who informed against rebels.
51. J. Galbraith.....	dead	Lord Abercorn's Attorney—got a Baronage.

		OBSERVATIONS.
52. Henry Dean Grady*		First Counsel to the Commissioners.
53. Richard Hare		Put two Members into Parliament, and was created Lord Ennismore for their votes.
54. William Hare		His son.
55. Colonel B. Henniker	dead	A Regiment, and paid £.3,500 for his Seat by the Commissioners of Compensation.
56. Peter Holmes	dead	A Commissioner of Stamps.
57. George Hatton.....	dead	Appointed Commissioner of Stamps.
58. Hon. John Hutchinson		A General—Lord Hutchinson.
59. Hugh Howard.....	dead	Lord Wicklow's brother, made Postmaster-General.
60. William Handcock (Athlone)		An extraordinary instance; he made and sang songs *against* the Union in 1799, at a public dinner of the Opposition, and made and sang songs for it in 1800: he got a Peerage.
61. John Hobson	dead	Appointed Storekeeper at the Castle Ordnance.
62. Colonel George Jackson		A Regiment.
63. Denham Jephson.....	dead	Master of Horse to the Lord Lieutenant.
64. Hon. George Jocelyn		Promotion in the Army, and his brother consecrated *Bishop of Lismore.*
65. William Jones.		
66. Theophilus Jones.....	dead	Collector of Dublin.
67. Major General Jackson	dead	A Regiment.
68. William Johnson.....		Returned *to* Parliament by Lord Castlereagh, as he *himself* declared, "to put *an end* to it;" appointed a Judge since.
69. Robert Johnson		Seceded from his Patron, Lord Downshire, and was appointed a Judge.
70. John Keane.....		A Renegade—got a Pension.—See Red List.
71. James Kearny	dead	Returned by Lord Clifton, being his Attorney—got an Office.
72. Henry Kemmis		Son to the Crown Solicitor.

* This gentleman the Author knew to be entirely indisposed to a Union, but peculiar circumstances prevented him imperatively but honorably from following his own impression. The Author communicated to Mr. George Ponsonby these causes, as he thought it but justice to Mr. Grady, who, on some occasions, did not conceal his sentiments, and acted fairly.

		OBSERVATIONS.
73. William Knott		Appointed a Commissioner of Appeals, £.800 a Year.
74. Andrews Knox.		
75. Colonel Keatinge	dead	
76. Right Hon. Sir H. Langrishe	dead	A Commissioner of the Revenue, received £.15,000 cash for his patronage at Knoctopher.
77. Thomas Lindsay, Sen.		Usher at the Castle, } paid £.1,500 for their
78. Thomas Lindsay, Jun.		Commissioner of Stamps, } patronage.
79. J. Longfield	dead	Created a Peer—Lord Longueville.
80. Captain J. Longfield		Appointed to the Office of Ship Entries of Dublin; taken from Sir Jonah Barrington.
81. Lord Loftus		Son to Lord Ely, Postmaster-General; got £.30,000 for their boroughs, and created an English Marquess.
82. General Lake.....	dead	An Englishman (*no connexion* with Ireland); returned by Lord Castlereagh *solely* to vote for the Union.
83. Right Hon. David Latouche	dead	
84. General Loftus		A General—got a Regiment; cousin to Lord Ely.
85. Francis M'Namara	dead	Cash, and a private Pension; paid by Lord Castlereagh.
86. Ross Mahon		Several appointments and places by Government.
87. Richard Martin		Commissioner of Stamps.
88. Right Hon. Monk Mason...	dead	A Commissioner of Revenue.
89. H. D. Massy		Received £.4,000 cash.
90. Thomas Mahon.		
91. A. E. M'Naghten		Appointed a Lord of the Treasury, &c.
92. Stephen Moore	dead	A Postmaster at will.
93. N. M. Moore.		
94. Right Hon. Lodge Morris...	dead	Created a Peer.
95. Sir Richard Musgrave	dead	Appointed Receiver of the Customs, £.1,200 a Year.
96. James M'Cleland		A Barrister—appointed Solicitor-General, and then a Baron of the Exchequer.
97. Colonel Charles M'Donnel	dead	Commissioner of Imprest Accounts, £.500 per Annum.
98. Richard Magenness	dead	Commissioner of Imprest Accounts, £.500 ditto.
99. Thomas Nesbit	dead	A Pensioner at will.
100. *Sir W. G. Newcomen, Bart.*	dead	Bought (see Memoir *ante*), and a Peerage for his wife.
101. Richard Neville	dead	Renegaded—reinstated as Teller of the Exchequer.
102. William Odell	dead	A Regiment, and Lord of the Treasury.

		OBSERVATIONS.
103. Charles Osborne.....	dead	A Barrister—appointed a Judge of the King's Bench.
104. Charles M. Ormsby	dead	Appointed First Council Commissioner.
105. Admiral Packenham		Master of the Ordnance.
106. Colonel Packenham	dead	A Regiment—killed at New Orleans.
107. H. S. Prittie		A Peerage—Lord Dunalley.
108. R. Penefather.		
109. Thomas Prendergast.....		An Office in the Court of Chancery, £.500 a Year; his brother Crown Solicitor.
110. Sir Richard Quin		A Peerage.
111. Sir Boyle Roche	dead	Gentleman Usher at the Castle.
112. R. Rutledge.		
113. Hon. C. Rowley.....		Renegaded, and appointed to offices by Lord Castlereagh.
114. Hon. H. Skeffington	dead	Clerk of the Paper Office of the Castle, and £.7,500 for his Patronage.
115. William Smith		A Barrister—appointed a Baron of Exchequer.
116. H. M. Sandford.....	dead	Created a Peer—Lord Mount-Sandford.
117. Edmund Stanley		Appointed Commissioner of Accounts.
118. John Staples.		
119. John Stewart, dead—broke his neck		Appointed Attorney-General, and created a Baronet.
120. John Stratton	dead	
121. *Hon. Benjamin Stratford...*		Renegaded to get £.7,500, his half of the compensation for Baltinglass.
122. *Hon. John Stratford*.....	dead	Paymaster of Foreign Forces, £.1,300 a Year, and £.7,500 for Baltinglass.
123. Richard Sharkey		An obscure Barrister; appointed a County Judge.
124. *Thomas Stannus*	dead	Renegaded.
125. J. Savage.		
126. Right Hon. John Toler ...		Attorney-General—his wife, an old woman, created a Peeress; himself made Chief Justice, and a Peer.
127. Frederick Trench	dead	Appointed a Commissioner of the Board of Works.
128. Hon. Richard Trench		A Barrister—created a Peer, and made an Ambassador. See Red List.
129. Charles Trench		His brother, appointed Commissioner of Inland Navigation—a new office, created by Lord Cornwallis, for Rewards.

		OBSERVATIONS.
130. Richard Talbot	dead	
131. P. Tottenham	dead	Compensation for patronage—cousin, and politically connected with Lord Ely.
132. Lord Tyrone.....	dead	104 Offices in the gift of his family—proposed the Union in Parliament by a speech written in the crown of his hat.
133. Charles Tottenham	dead	
134. —— Townsend .....,	dead	A Commissioner.
135. Robert Tighe	dead	Commissioner of Barracks.
136. Robert Uniack	dead	A Commissioner—connected with Lord Clare.
137. James Verner	dead	
138. J. O. Vandeleur.....	dead	Commissioner of the Revenue; his brother a Judge.
139. Colonel Wemyss	dead	Collector of Kilkenny.
140. Henry Westernrow	dead	Father of Lord Rossmore, who is of the very reverse of his father's politics.

By this List it appears that, out of 140 who supported the Union, 75 have died, leaving 65, most of whom are likely to follow the same course without much delay; proving, that out of any given number of mixed ages, more than half die in twenty-nine years. Of these 75 dead Members, about 50 were then under forty years of age, many much younger.

APPENDIX.

BILL OF RIGHTS BATTALION.

AT a Meeting of part of the said Battalion, at Ballymoney, on the 24th December, 1783, the following Resolutions, having been unanimously agreed to, received the approbation of the remainder of the Battalion, at Ballycastle, on the 26th of December.

Resolved—" That the following Address be presented from this Battalion, " by a Deputation thereof, *under arms*, to the Earl of Bristol, Lord Bishop of " Derry, for his truly patriotic exertions in support of our rights and liberties, and " of a reform of our Parliament:—

" *To the Right Honourable the Earl of Bristol, Lord Bishop of Derry.*

" *The Address of the Bill of Rights' Battalion of Volunteers.*

" MY LORD,—Having, with the eye of silent approbation, viewed your conduct, " in every stage of its progress, at the Grand National Convention of Volunteer " Delegates, we are impelled, by those generous sentiments that actuate the breasts " of Irishmen, to offer your Lordship this Address, as a mark of affection and of " gratitude.

" We see, with indignation and concern, the treatment which the wise, " spirited, and salutary Resolutions of the Volunteer Convention have received; " but, we trust, the virtuous efforts of a united people, under the auspices of

" your Lordship, will cleanse the Augean stable—the noisome stalls of venality and " corruption.

" The gloomy clouds of superstition and *bigotry*, those *engines of disunion*, " being fled the realm, the interests of Ireland can *no* longer suffer by a diversity of " *religious persuasions.* All are united in the pursuit of one great object—the " extermination of corruption from our Constitution; nor can your Lordship and " your virtuous coadjutors, in promoting civil and *religious* liberty, be destitute " of the aid of *all* professions.

" Permit us to assure you, that, as freemen, freeholders, and as volunteers, " our exertions to effectuate the grand work of reformation, shall be as strenuous " as the aim is important: and, that we are, with unfeigned gratitude and " attachment, your Lordship's most faithful friends,

" Signed, by order of the Battalion,

" JOHN ORR, Sec."

A detachment from the Battalion, consisting of eighty rank and file, headed by their lieutenant-colonel, waited on his Lordship, on the 14th instant, at Downhill, and presented, under arms, their address, to which his Lordship was pleased to give the subsequent reply :—

" GENTLEMEN,—When you acknowledge the services of your fellow-citizens, " in the county of Antrim, in the late struggle for *liberty*, you rewarded their toils " in that coin most valuable to *virtuous* men; and your approbation of their " efforts, in some measure, consoled them for their want of success.

" But, when you step forth from your *own* county, to hail the individual " of another, unknown to you but by his honest endeavours, and unconnected, " except by that kindred spirit which seems now, at length, to pervade the whole " body of Irishmen, and, like a Promethean fire, to animate an hitherto lifeless " mass, the satisfaction excited in his mind, by the applauses of men who have a " right to approve what they *dare to support*, can be known only to those who " are conscious of deserving what they are fortunate enough to receive.

" Where the *conscience* of a *patriot* bears testimony to the *truth* of the " panegyric, and the sincerity of the panegyrists' praise ceases to be adulation, then

" they become the wholesome food of a manly mind, and *nourish* that *virtue* they " were, at first, intended only to approve.

" But, Gentlemen, those who dare assert their own rights, should rise above " the mean policy of violating the rights of others.

" There is, in this island, a class of citizens equally respectable, and infinitely " more numerous than those who have hitherto oppressed them:—

" Men who have long crouched under the *iron rod* of their *oppressors,* not " from any dastardly insensibility to their shackles—not from any unmanly in- " difference to the inalienable rights of men—but from a pious dread of wounding " our common country through the sides of its *tyrants:*—

" Men, in whose hearts beats at this instant as high a pulse for liberty, and " through whose veins pours a tide of as pure blood, and as noble too, as any that " animates the proudest citizen in Ireland:—

" Men, whose ancestors, at the hazard of their property, and with the loss " of their lives, obtained the first great Bill of Rights, and upon which every other " must be founded—the Magna Charta of Ireland:—

" Men, whose ancestors, in the midst of ignorance, could discriminate between " the duties of a religionist and the rights of a citizen, and who enacted those " elementary and never obsolete statutes of præmunire, which, for centuries, have " been an irrefragable monument of their sagacity in distinguishing, and their " fortitude in severing, their duty to *the church of Rome from their dependence* " *on its court:*—

" Men, the undegenerate progeny of such virtuous ancestors, who, with a " firmness worthy of our imitation, and still more worthy of our gratitude, have " endured those very outrages from their *country* which their forefathers spurned at " from its *sovereign,* and who, under a series of accumulated wrongs, which would " heighten the disgrace of human policy if they could be paralleled in its annals, " have, with a fortitude as unexampled as their oppression, allowed every thing " dear to the human heart to be wrecked, except their *religion* and their *patriotism* " —except their acquiescence to the will of an inscrutable God, and their affection " for a mistaken and deluded country.

" But, Gentlemen, the hour is now come, when sound policy, as well as

" irresistible justice, will compel those who demand their own rights, to support " their claim by a restitution of those of their fellow citizens :—

" When Ireland must necessarily avail herself of her whole internal force " to ward off foreign encroachments, or once more acquiesce under those encroach- " ments, the better to exercise anew the tyranny of a *part* of the community over " the dearest and inalienable rights of *others*.

" For *one* million of *divided Protestants* can never, in the scale of human " government, be a counterpoise against *three* million of united *Catholics*. But, " Gentlemen of the Bill of Rights Battalion, I *appeal* to *yourselves*, and *summon* " you to consistency—' TYRANNY is not GOVERNMENT, and ALLEGIANCE IS " DUE ONLY TO PROTECTION.' "

" BRISTOL."

" 14*th January*, 1784."

II.

ARGUMENTS USED BY GRATTAN AND YELVERTON, ON THE REPEAL OF 6TH GEO. I., AND ON THE ACT OF 1783*.

IT was argued, that the Act of 1783 was not a renunciation of right; on the contrary, it purported to be, and expressly declared itself, an establishment of the Irish Constitution, by the authority of the British Parliament (the word recognition was proposed in the British House of Commons, and not assented to); that it did indeed give the Irish Parliament independence, but by its own authority. Suppose a similar Act passed with respect to France—" Be it enacted, by the authority of his " Majesty, and with the consent of the King, Lords, and Commons of Great Britain, " that the rights of France shall be established for ever"—that would be an insult to France. They observed that the Irish claimed independence of Parliament, by the

* Received from Mr. Henry Grattan, Jun., for use, and referred to in his *fac-simile* letter to me.

rights and charters of Ireland; and that here is manumission by the Parliament of England. It was a change of the Irish title, and gave Ireland a British Act of Parliament instead of her own charters. The party (Mr. Flood, &c.) had desired that England should acknowledge her usurpation, and renounce her right; here she has exercised her right, and has not renounced her usurpation; she has made Ireland free, but she has made her free by her own Act of Parliament. Accordingly it is to be observed, that the Irish Parliament never took notice of this Act, and in the enacting, in 1783, there is no mention of it in the addresses; and the reason was, that the Parliament of Ireland would not be party to a British statute which assumed, by its own authority, to settle the Constitution of Ireland. She expressed her satisfaction in the repeal, and would take no notice of this Act in question; and here was the difference, that the repeal was conventional; and that, under the operation of the repeal, England could not, according to the law of nations, recur to the power without a breach of that convention: but, in the other case, there was nothing to restrain her from repealing that Act in question, except the municipal law of the land. Now the municipal law of the land binds every thing but Parliament, and she could legally repeal this Act, and could legally resume the power; and if Ireland had been party to this Act, she could not dispute the legality of any further settlement by the English Parliament; and if the Irish Parliament had admitted the power of England to settle the rights of Ireland, by her own Act of Parliament, she must have admitted her power to repeal that law, and make another settlement.

With respect to the mode of repeal of 6 Geo. I., it was observed, that the King proposed a treaty—it came from the crown; it proposed an adjustment, which is a treaty (it is to be observed that the two Parliaments were co-ordinate, and the two nations co-ordinate parts of the same empire, and, therefore, were capable of treating: the crown of Ireland was not merged; the officers of the crown of England had no power in Ireland; the Constitution was not *the King*, but the *King of Ireland)*. The King sent a corresponding message to the Parliament of England, for an adjustment with the Parliament of Ireland. The Parliament of Ireland began the adjustment, and set forth, among other things, that they were an Imperial kingdom, with a King and a Parliament of their own; and that Great Britain had no right to make laws for her; and that the claim of England to make laws for her was contrary

to her charter, and a great and first cause of discontent and jealousy. The King transmitted this claim of right to the English Parliament, who referred it to their committees; and, with the Irish protest before them, these committees resolved that the law containing the claim of England should be repealed. The King sent over this resolution to both Houses of Parliament in Ireland, and said that he acceded to their utmost wishes. The Irish Parliament expressed its satisfaction thereon, and upon that the 6th Geo. I., and all the matters therein contained, were repealed. Here, then, is a covenant, it appears, that this repeal is not *simple*, but a covenant—it is a conventional Act. Now what is the Act repealed? It is an affirmance of the existence of a right in the Parliament of England to make laws for Ireland. And what is the Act repealing it? A disaffirmance of the existence of any such right; which disaffirmance was accompanied with a transfer of a power: and accordingly the Irish Lords received appeals, and the English Lords ceased to receive appeals, and Ireland commenced to make laws for *her* colonial trade, which, till that time, England had constantly done. This was held to be the *quod est desiderandum*—the *establishment* of the Parliamentary independence of Ireland. An alarm was spread on account of the trial of a writ of error before Lord Mansfield, after the settlement; but it was found that there was an Irish Act of 1782 (brought in by Mr. Grattan and Lord Pery), that had been passed, and by which no appeal, or writ of error, could be brought out of the kingdom of Ireland. It also appeared, that the writ of error in question had been lodged in England previous to the 6th Geo. I., so that the case could not occur again.

It was said, by the opposers of simple repeal, that a declaratory Act did not make a law, and the repeal of it did not unmake a law. To that it was answered, a declaratory Act made a statute, and a statute is a law; and the repeal of a declaratory Act unmakes a statute, and the unmaking is a law. It made a law by declaration: declaration of Geo. I. is not a law. To repeal a declaration is not to *withdraw* it—it is to *deny:* a negative upon an affirmative proposition is the same as a positive negative; for instance, *Resolved that the Parliament of England has a right*, PASSED in the NEGATIVE is the same as to say, Resolved that the Parliament of England has no right, and decides the question; and it is the Parliamentary way of putting such questions. Suppose the Act, instead of a repeal, had run thus:

" Be it enacted, that the 6th Geo. I. be renounced," such a Bill could not have passed. When Parliament proceeds to make laws, she must use legislative terms, such as *enact, repeal, declare: renounce* is not a legislative word.

It was also said, that the repeal of the declaratory law left the law as it found it: it was not so; it left the law as it *declared* it. The repeal of a declaratory law reverses the declaration. It was also said, that the Irish Constitution should have had legal security *in* the laws enacted by England: the thing was a blunder. What Ireland sought was security *against* the Parliament of England, which was bound by the municipal law of the land. The best security that Ireland could have was in her own charter, and in an adjustment with England, secured by the law of nations, the only law that could bind the two Parliaments, and *which put* Parliament in covenant.

It was likewise said that there were two titles, a statute title, and a common law title; that the statute title was gone, but that the common law title remained exactly as before. It was no such thing—they are one and the same; the statute recites the common law title, and the repeal is the disaffirmance of both: they are one and the same proposition; and you could not set up a title at common law which you have set aside by a statute.

They (Mr. Flood, &c. &c.) desired that England should renounce the right: she has not done it. They desired that England should confess her usurpation: she has not, and she would not do it; nor was her renunciation, or confession of her usurpation, necessary. It would have been criminal to have asked for it; it would have created delay, and the settlement must have waited till England had confessed —a thing which Ireland must have known she never would, and which she did not do. In the mean time the question would have been left open to the intrigues of parties, who would have been ready enough to avail themselves of the delay for their own purposes. The question would have been lost.

Time was every thing; disaffirmance was equally valid; and if Ireland could not trust England in the one case, she could not trust her in the other: if she could not trust her when she DISAFFIRMED, she could not have trusted her when she RENOUNCED. It was a distinction without a difference. The fact was, that England having gone so far, they thought they might press her a little further—it was a bullying idea.

It was observed, that in the repeal that was called simple there were great authorities: the authority of the principal part of the Judges of Ireland; the authority of Mr. Yelverton; and the authority of Mr. Burgh. Besides this, a meeting had been summoned at the Castle of Dublin, by the Lord Lieutenant; and the question was, whether the repeal was an abandonment of the power of England to make law for Ireland, and it was agreed that it was.

III.

LAWYERS' RESOLUTIONS*.

"TO THE LAWYERS' CORPS.

"*November* 18, 1782.

"IN obedience to your order of the 20th July last, your Committee have "considered the question to them referred, and have unanimously come to the "following resolutions:—

"*First*,—That, in all cases of adjustment between nation and nation, where the "rights of the one have been invaded and usurped by the other, and when the "usurpation of the aggressor is to be disclaimed, and the original rights of the "aggrieved acknowledged, such disclaimer and acknowledgment ought necessarily "to be conceived *in terms as strong and as clear as the utmost range of language* "can supply.

"*Secondly*,—That if such usurpation has been of long duration—if it has "been repeatedly and grievously exercised—if it has been maintained by the strong "arm of power, and, from time to time, contended for, as a right, by some of the "most learned of the usurpers; but, above all, if it has ever, upon any great "and critical occasion, been solemnly recognised and declared as law by the supreme "power of the usurping state, it becomes still the more necessary that the *disclaimer*

* These are the arguments alluded to in Mr. Grattan's *fac-simile* Letter.

" *of such usurpation should be conceived in terms so explicit and unequivocal as to* " *exclude* even the possibility of future doubt or cavil.

" *Thirdly*,—That the British claim of right to legislate for Ireland was in its " origin groundless and unjust, and that it existed, according to some, for a century " and a half; according to others, for five hundred years; and, in the opinion of " the British Legislature, as declared by their memorable Act of the 6th Geo. I., c. 5, " from the earliest connection between the two kingdoms,—that it was maintained by " a power which the unhappy situation of this country rendered irresistible, and was " frequently supported by the opinion and arguments of some of the ablest judges, " and some of the best lawyers, and some of the most eminent periodical writers, " that, perhaps, the British nation could ever boast of.

" *Fourthly*,—That such usurped right was actually exercised, in a variety " of instances, and that so many acts affecting to bind Ireland are still to be found " on the British Statute Roll unrepealed, and, consequently, as it should seem, of as " much force and energy (at least in the opinion of British lawyers and judges) " as they could have been deemed to be before the passing of the above-mentioned " Act of the 6th Geo. I., c. 5.

" *Fifthly*,—That, above sixty-two years ago, the British Parliament thought " proper to pass the above-mentioned Act of the 6th Geo. I., the title, preamble, " and body of which we find to be as follows.

[*Here the* 6th Geo. I., c. 5, *was set forth.*]

" *Sixthly*,—That the above-mentioned Act is manifestly a declaratory Act, " recognising what was, by the British Legislature, deemed to have been antecedent " law, not creating any new law; and that it has been so construed and " considered by every British lawyer and juridical writer who appears to have " spoken or written on the subject.

" *Seventhly*,—That the mere simple repeal of a declaratory Act, leaves the law " as the Legislature deemed it to have been before the passing of such Act.

" *Eighthly*,—That the late repeal, by the British Parliament, of the 6th Geo. I., " is conceived in the following terms:—' An Act to repeal an Act, made in the " sixth year,' &c.

" *Ninthly*,—That the great and important question between the two nations,

" with respect to the independence of Ireland, must, as we conceive, be now deemed " to stand upon the same ground that it did before the passing of the 6th Geo. I., " unless the above-mentioned repeal of that Act has disclaimed its principle.

" *Tenthly*,—That the British Parliament have not, by the above Act of Repeal, " *expressly* disavowed *their claim of right* to legislate for Ireland; and though we " firmly believe that they meant fairly and honourably by this nation, in every " respect, yet we conceive that they have, by such their omission, at least left room " to doubt whether it was their intention *for ever to abdicate their claim;* and the " rather so, as they so strongly, and *in such pointed terms, asserted* it at the time " when they seemed determined to support it: nor does it occur to your Committee " that the British Parliament would, at a future day, be precluded, by the tenor of " the above Act of Repeal, from ascribing it either to justice or expediency, as they " might think most proper.

" *Eleventhly*,—That the words, ' the several matters and things therein con- " tained,' which occur in the late Act of Repeal, can never, in our opinion, warrant " the inference attempted to be drawn from them; namely, that the British " Legislature had thereby renounced the principle of the 6th Geo. I., for that such " words are merely words occurring in every, or almost every, repealing Act.

" *Twelfthly*,—That the several circumstances that attended the late Act of " Repeal, did not, in our opinions, supersede the necessity of *an explicit disclaimer* " of the principle of the 6th Geo. I., because we apprehend that the security of our " constitutional rights ought to rest upon *the solid foundation of express acknowledg-* " *ment*, and not on the unsteady basis of fugitive circumstances, equivocal in " themselves, and which, at a future day, may be variously conceived and variously " interpreted: and we the rather think so, because we find that these circumstances " are, at this hour, variously represented by different persons and different parties. " On the whole, your Committee are unanimously of opinion that the British " Parliament have not done any act whatsoever whereby they must or can be deemed " to have fully, finally, and irrevocably, or, in any adequate manner, acknowledged " the sole and exclusive right of the Irish Parliament to legislate for this country in " all cases, as well external as internal.

" Signed, by Order, &c."

IV.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1799.

The Speaker and Members having returned, after attending His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant in the House of Peers, a Copy of the Speech was read from the Chair as follows:—

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" I have received His Majesty's commands to meet you in Parliament.

" I congratulate you on the happy effects which have followed the unparalleled " achievement of the detachment of His Majesty's fleet, under the command of Rear- " Admiral Lord Nelson—on the total defeat of the French squadron off the coasts " of this kingdom, by that under the command of Sir J. B. Warren—and on the " brilliant and important conquest of Minorca. Those events, while they afford to " us, in common with every other description of His Majesty's subjects, matter of " just pride and satisfaction, must at the same time give confidence to other Powers, " and show to all Europe the beneficial effects of a system of vigour and exertion, " directed with manly perseverance against the destructive projects of the common " enemy.

" I feel much concern in being obliged to acquaint you, that a spirit of dis- " affection still prevails in several parts of this kingdom, and that the secret agents " of the enemy are active in raising an expectation of fresh assistance from France.

" In this situation, and under the evident necessity of continuing the war with " vigour, His Majesty firmly relies upon that spirit and magnanimity which have " hitherto marked all your exertions in support of the honour of his Crown, of the " interest of this kingdom, and of the general cause of the empire."

" *Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

" I have ordered the public accounts and estimates to be laid before you; and " as I am confident your wisdom will raise the supplies which may be necessary, in " the manner least burdensome to the subject, so you may depend upon my attention " to their prudent and economical application.

" It is with great satisfaction I observe that, notwithstanding our internal " calamities, this kingdom, blended as its interests are in the general prosperity of " the empire, has participated in the effects of the increasing wealth and commerce " of Great Britain, and that our revenues and trade have increased.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" It is my duty to recommend to your attention the various objects of internal " regulation, which have so long enjoyed the benefit of your protection and support. " Your agriculture, your manufactures (and particularly the linen manufacture), the " Protestant charter schools, and other charitable institutions, will require, and will, " I am sure, continue to receive that aid and encouragement which they have " uniformly experienced from the liberality of Parliament. I am confident you will " feel particular anxiety to give further attention to the just and honourable claims of " those who have suffered from their loyalty during the rebellion.

" His Majesty depends upon your persevering energy to repress, by every wise " effort, the spirit of disaffection, which still requires the exercise of extraordinary " powers to check its malignant effects. In recurring, where occasion has required " it, to acts of indispensable severity, I have not been inattentive to the suggestions " of mercy, and have endeavoured to mitigate the effects of penal justice, and the " necessary exertions of the powers of the State, with as much forbearance and lenity " as could be consistent with the public safety.

" In the general cause which engages the empire, our prospect is highly encou- " raging; but in proportion as a successful termination of the war becomes probable, " our efforts should be redoubled in order to secure it.

" The zeal of His Majesty's regular and militia forces, the gallantry of the yeo- " manry, the honourable co-operation of the British fencibles and militia, and the " activity, skill, and valour of His Majesty's fleets, will, I doubt not, defeat every " future effort of the enemy. But the more I have reflected on the situation and

" circumstances of this kingdom, considering, on the one hand, the strength and " stability of Great Britain, and, on the other, those divisions which have shaken " Ireland to its foundation, the more anxious I am for some permanent adjustment, " which may extend the advantages enjoyed by our sister kingdom to every part of " this island.

" The unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed " design of endeavouring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, " must have engaged your particular attention; and His Majesty commands me to " express his anxious hope, that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual " affection and common interest, may dispose the Parliaments in both kingdoms to " provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connection, " essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one " firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British " empire."

LORD TYRONE.—" I rise to move an Address of Thanks to His Majesty, for " the most gracious Speech we have this day heard delivered from the throne. I " confess, Sir, there never was a period in the annals of this or any other country, " where firmness, deliberation, and dignity, were more requisite than upon the present " awful occasion.—Parliament must not be intimidated by menaces, or deterred by " clamour; although it ought to listen with attention and deference to the wishes of " the people, whose legitimate organ it is. The Address which I shall have the " honour to propose, will, I hope, meet your approbation, and pass unanimously. It " does not pledge the House in its decision upon that great and important question " which now so much occupies and interests the public mind. As to the measure of " a Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, I, at present, can give no " opinion—it would be to prejudge and anticipate that which is of so much weight; " nor can I fairly decide upon it, until it shall come regularly in detail and discussion " before the House: but to resist the full and free consideration of a question which " comes recommended to your attention by our gracious and august Sovereign, and " upon which the sentiments of commercial parts of the kingdom are so divided, " would be disrespectful, impolitic, and rash. I trust this House and the nation at

" large are unanimous in an abhorrence and detestation of any connexion with " France; I trust this House and the nation at large are agreed to stand or fall with " Great Britain—she, in the hour of our distress, generously assisted us; and let it " never be forgotten, that when an unprovoked and formidable rebellion raged in this " country, her army, her militia—the constitutional guardians of the English nation— " volunteered its services in the defence of Ireland, and that her fleet, under the " command of the brave and gallant Warren, rescued this country from the insult of " invasion, by a decisive victory over that implacable and persevering enemy, who " only looks to our destruction in our separation from Great Britain. I again repeat, " I do not consider myself as pledged to the support of the measure of a Union by " moving the Address: let that question of policy stand upon its own merits; let it " be adopted or rejected, as the interests of Ireland and the prosperity of the empire " shall dictate. If, upon investigation, it be found conducive to the advantage and " strengthening of both, no clamour, no violence, shall swerve me from the honourable " line of my duty. I beg leave to say, I mean to move to-night a call of the House, " previously to entering into the consideration of a subject of such magnitude, that " there may be due time for deliberation, that no Member may be taken by surprise, " and that the decision of each may be the result of conviction."

COLONEL FITZGERALD, Member for the county of Cork, seconded the Address.

LORD CASTLEREAGH " felt himself called upon to say, that, although there " was not in the Address any specific pledge to a measure of Union, it was clearly " implied in the wish to strengthen the resources of the empire, and he had no " difficulty in saying, that he thought the only means of settling this unhappy country " in permanent tranquillity and in connexion with Britain incorporate, were to be " found in a Legislative Union; and on this subject he did intend, at an early " day, to submit a specific motion to the House."

MR. G. PONSONBY said—" The open avowal of the noble Lord saved him the " trouble of proving, that the words of the Address could mean nothing less than that " the House would entertain and discuss the idea of annihilating the Irish Parliament " and the constitution of the country. He boldly avowed the principle, that neither " the Legislature, nor any Power on earth, had a right or authority to do this;—the " Crown or the Peers evidently had no such power, and the Representatives of the

" People were appointed to make laws only—they were not vested with permanent " and unlimited authority, and therefore could not pronounce definitively on the " rights of the people. The deposition of James II., the Bill of Rights, which de- " clared the deposition or abdication of that monarch to be a violating of the original " compact with the people, proved this doctrine. Parliament might indeed go great " lengths, with the consent of the people; but, even with that consent, he would hesitate " to say, whether they could deprive their posterity for ever of their right to the bene- " fits of the constitution—to civil liberty." Having painted in glowing colours the infamy of surrendering liberty and independence, for any consideration, he proceeded to consider how the measure would affect the wealth of the country. He concluded by moving an amendment, that, " After the passage which declares the willingness of " the House to enter on a consideration of what measures may best tend to confirm " the common strength of the empire, should be inserted, ' maintaining, however, the " ' undoubted birth-right of the people of Ireland to have a resident and independent " ' Legislature, such as it was recognized by the British Legislature in 1782, and " ' was finally settled at the adjustment of all differences between the two " ' countries.' "

Sir L. Parsons seconded the Amendment.

Mr. Fitzgerald (late prime serjeant) said—" I must declare that it is not, in my " opinion, within the moral competence of Parliament to destroy and extinguish itself, " and with it the rights and liberties of those who created it." [Here he stated the opinion of Mr. Burke, that the House of Lords was not competent to dissolve the House of Commons, nor even to dissolve itself; nor to abdicate, if it would, its proportion in the Legislature of the kingdom: that though a king may abdicate for his own person, he cannot abdicate for the monarchy; and that by as strong, or by a stronger reason, the House of Commons cannot renounce its share of authority. The constitution forbidding such invasion or surrender.] " The constituent parts of a state are obliged " to hold their public faith with each other, and with all those who derive *any serious* " *interest under their engagements;* such a compact may, with respect to Great " Britain, be a union, but with respect to Ireland, it will be a revolution, and a " revolution of a most alarming nature."

Mr. O'Hara " denied the right of Parliament to alter the constitution. The

" people also would deny that right; and they would equally deny the right of the " British Parliament, though increased with Irishmen, to legislate for them. The " Parliament of Ireland, he considered, as a peace-maker between the king and people. " Send them to England, and to whom could the people then complain? To the " king only, or his minister; for, in the British Parliament, they could not have " confidence."

MR. LEE "declared it his opinion as a lawyer, and he staked his character upon " it, that the Legislature was not competent to the change they were now called " on to make."

MR. CROOKSHANK said—" Sir, in the discussion of this question I shall beg " leave to submit two propositions to your consideration. In the first place, I deny " (with the utmost deference and respect) that this House has any right, or is in " anywise whatever competent, to surrender or transfer, by compact or otherwise, " without the previous authority of its constituents, that legislative trust, delegated " by them for a limited period, and subject to the conditions ascertained by the con- " stitution. Deputed by the people to exercise the sole power of making laws, " chosen for a limited period, prescribed by the constitution, and, at the time of its " election, no measure of Union avowed by Government, or in the contemplation of " its constituents, will any man who understands the principles, or has imbibed the " spirit of the constitution, say, that this House, constituted under such restrictions " of duration and authority, has a right, or is competent to surrender or transfer that " temporary and qualified trust, by compact with the sovereign power of another king- " dom? Sir, I deny that the Parliament of an independent state, for which the " members of that Parliament are trustees, has any right whatever, without the " permission of its constituents, expressly or impliedly given for the purpose, to " surrender to another country the whole or any part of its legislative authority."

COLONEL B. MAXWELL " fully concurred with the honourable and learned " Gentleman (Mr. G. Ponsonby), who moved the Amendment, that Parliament were " totally incompetent to entertain the measure,—he therefore gave it his most une- " quivocal and decided opposition *in limine*."

MR. BARRINGTON (Judge of the Admiralty) " declared he rose with the greatest " agitation. The existence of Ireland was in question, and he felt the feeble talents

" with which nature had blessed him, shrink before the colossal magnitude of the " subject;—he had heard of calm and dispassionate discussion, it was the language of " a slave; he who could reflect on the annihilation of his country with apathy or " indifference, must be less than man or more than mortal. Whatever capacity, " whatever spirit, whatever energy God or nature had given him, he considered him- " self as holding them but in *trust for his country*, to be expended for her use, whenever " her oppressions or her distresses drew for their assistance.—He loved his King, he " adored the Constitution, and he now considered himself as defending both against " the desperate system of an indefinitely ambitious minister. The Irish Parliament " had heretofore deliberated on revocable, local regulations, or national arrangements, " but now a mighty and an imperial question opened itself for their discussion—a " project to subject, irrevocably, one independent country to the will of another, and " *both* to the will of a minister already stronger than the Crown, and more powerful " than the people—and this great and important usurpation, stolen into Parliament " through the fulsome paragraphs of an echoing congratulation—pledging the House " to the discussion of a principle subversive of their liberties, and in the hour of " convalescence calling on it to commit suicide.—Ireland had not fair play; her " Parliament had not fair play; the foulest and most unconstitutional means, he " believed, had been used to intimidate and to corrupt it, and either to force or to " seduce a suffrage, when, nothing but general, independent, uninfluenced, opinion " could warrant, for a moment, the most distant view of so ruinous a subject. He " had good reason to believe, that corrupt and unconstitutional means had been used " by the noble lord to individuals of the Irish Parliament." [Here Mr. Barrington was called to order, and his words desired to be taken down; on which Mr. Plunkett rose and declared the same opinion, and his determination to use stronger language; and recommended the words to be taken down, in order to bring the subject forward. This not being persisted in by the Treasury Bench, Mr. Barrington continued:]— " He repeated, that he had reason to believe that corrupt and unconstitutional means " had been used towards individuals of the Irish Parliament—some of those means " were open and avowed. Two of the oldest, most respectable, and most beloved " officers of the Crown, had been displaced, because they presumed to hint an opinion " adverse to the stripling's dictates on a subject where their country was at stake;

" their removal crowned them with glory, and the minister with contempt. He " asserted that other gentlemen in office, whose opinions were decidedly adverse to " the measure, but whose circumstances could not bear similar sacrifices, were " dragged to the altar of pollution, and forced, contrary to their will, to vote against " their country: he had good reason to believe that unconstitutional interference had " been used by the Executive power with the legislative body—one gentleman refused " the instructions of his constituents, and had been promoted. Peerages (as was " rumoured) were bartered for the rights of minors, and every effort used to destroy " the free agency of Parliament. If this were true, it encroached on the Constitution, " and if the Executive power overstepped its bounds, the people were warranted to " do the same on their part; and between both it might be annihilated, and leave " a wondering world in amazement how the same people could be wise enough to " frame the best Constitution upon earth, and foolish enough to destroy it. The " British nation felt too well the value of political liberty to countenance the " destruction of it in a sister country, and must well know that a Union, forced " or corrupted, could be neither permanent nor advantageous; therefore, were the " measure beneficial instead of ruinous to Ireland, he should object to any discussion, " brought forward under such circumstances. Misfortune had broken the spirit of " Ireland, but she was reviving—she had been stunned by her fall, but had still power " to value her liberties, and spirit to defend them—the property, the talents, and the " integrity of Ireland were devoted to her cause—draw tight the bonds between Great " Britain and Ireland, but her Legislature shall be sacred—one King and two " kingdoms is the cry of her people.

" The British minister had too much wisdom to have pressed this measure " on Ireland, had he known her temper and situation; but he had been greatly " deceived by misrepresentation from this country; hot-headed injudicious spirits " had been listened to, whilst the sage and honest representation of the wisest of " Ireland's children had been disregarded. These were objections to any discussion " of the subject, and much as he respected Great Britain, no idle parade of com- " pliment should prevail upon him one moment to lose sight of Ireland. He " argued at length on the incompetence of the Irish Commons to surrender " the essence of their delegation. Scotland was no example, her Parliament

" was differently framed, nor had Ireland any great reason to follow her measures. " She had sold her country, but not till after she had sold her King. Where then " was the virtue of her precedent? The Irish Parliament was delegated by their " constituents to make and modify laws, but not to form and mould revolutions; " the power of that delegation was limited, and if the representatives exceeded " the subject of delegation in *one* instance, they might as justly exceed it in *another;* " and they might, in that case, discuss the question of separation, with as much " constitutional reasoning, as the question of Union, because the King being only one " part, and the Parliament being only another part of the Constitution, they had " no more right to say, we will give up our Parliament, than we will give up " our King; they are not delegated for either purpose, and are *equally* bound by " their Constitution and their *oath* to preserve both. The misconstrued argument " of Parliamentary *omnipotence* falls before this reasoning! nothing, it is true, can " control or counteract Parliament *within its constitutional bounds,* but nothing " can warrant it to *exceed them;* the very instant the delegated representatives " in Parliament grant away the Constitution which they were appointed to protect, " the compact between them and their constituents becomes a nullity, their law of " relinquishment is a nullity, and the Constitution is virtually and instantly dissolved.

" The crowns of Great Britain and Ireland are as distinct as their Parliaments; " but, by the great constitutional compact, the crown of Ireland is for ever to be " worn by the King of Great Britain, and he is to govern Ireland, not in right of his " crown of Great Britain, but in right of his crown of Ireland. The two countries " are indissolubly bound by this great compact, and the more sacredly it is observed, " the more confidence there will be amongst the people of both; but this compact is " entirely mutual, and would the British nation call it a union or a revolution, " if Mr. Pitt was to propose to reduce the British Parliament to two hundred " Commoners and sixty Lords, and send them over to legislate in Dublin for " the good of the empire? It is argued that a union with Great Britain is not a " revolution, he conceived that to be a revolution which melted down one totally " *independent* crown into another, and incorporate one totally independent legis- " lature into the power and vortex of a greater state, which took away its exclusive " authority over its own concerns, and transferred even its most trifling internal

" arrangements to another kingdom. But it is said, we should still have a delegated " body acting in the Parliament of the empire; so we should, but a body so totally " disproportionate to the united Parliaments of England and Scotland as to give " no chance or possibility of carrying any measure of commercial rivalship in favour of " this country. One hundred Irish to five hundred and forty-seven English and Scotch " would make a wretched division, even if we could suppose all our representatives " pure, which the example of Scottish representatives disproves. It is asserted " that our interests would then be identified and mutual, and no question of " rivalship could occur; this is false in fact, because it is evident, that questions of " commercial rivalship do at this instant exist, and ever must, between the two " countries. But these are immaterial causes of rivalship in comparison to the effects " of independence and security, and which our own Parliament can modify as well " as the Parliament of Great Britain; but which, if united, is subject to theirs; and it " is a folly to say, that *any* articles of Union with Ireland can ever be secure—if the " interest of Great Britain induces a breach of them, where is our remedy?— " The Scotch articles were broken, but she had made herself a province—her " Parliament was gone—she had no redress but in the generosity of Great Britain, " like the passion of a lover which was lost in the enjoyment—Scotland sighed, " and, after two rebellions, submitted. Ireland has risen more in ten years by " her independence than Scotland in a hundred by her subjection; and yet we are " called upon to *try* the irrevocable *experiment* of dependence. Another proof that " the articles of the Scotch union are not considered sacred is this:—forty-five " Scotch representatives were, after a long debate, agreed upon as a *proportionate* " number to sit in the British Parliament, and the imperial compact must ne- " cessarily have been, that the proportion so agreed on was to be kept up to retain to " Scotland her due proportional influence, and this appears a fundamental principle " of that union. Now the incorporation of one hundred Irish members, with distinct " if not adverse interest to those of Scotland, into the British Parliament, by in- " creasing the number of the whole, totally takes away the proportionate influence of " the forty-five Scotch delegates, and so, in fact, destroys the most material and " fundamental principle of the Scottish union and of Scottish security. If, then, the " British minister violates that engagement with Scotland, to subjugate Ireland, it is

" equally clear he will play the same game when Ireland is dependent; and that, as " the Scotch Union is infringed to gain Ireland, so the Irish Union will be " infringed to regain Scotland; and when the interest of Great Britain suggests the " measure, will the voice of a few Irish delegates prevent it? We should then have " but little consolation in regretting our own folly, and reviling the treachery of the " minister. But surely the Irish representatives, in this House, have no power " or authority to elect other representatives, to legislate for Ireland, yet, by uniting " to the Parliaments of Great Britain, they, in part, elect five hundred and " forty-seven English and Scotch Members to legislate for Ireland, whom Ireland " never saw or heard of, nor ever delegated; this is an assumption extrinsic of their " delegation, and which will not bind the nation. In point of constitution, therefore, " Ireland gained nothing and lost every thing by the project: national pride, like " individual honour, stimulates to prosperity, and he could not, without horror " and dismay, behold the spirit of Irish independence, and of Irish honour, sinking " lifeless into the grave of a British legislature. In point of commerce, the project " was equally fallacious—Ireland had, at this moment, a right and a capacity to " trade to every quarter of the globe, more extensively than her capital could pursue; " the trade of Liverpool is owing to the enterprise of her merchants; and the trade " of Dublin and of Cork is only cramped by the timidity of theirs. At this short " notice detail was impossible, but could any honourable member point out any one " instance in which a Union alone could increase the trade of Ireland for the benefit " of *Irish* subjects—in what instance could our trade be advanced by a Union, which " could not be effected *without* it? But even if it could be advanced by the project, " could it be advanced in a degree commensurate to the loss of national security, " national legislation, national property, and national independence? If England " meant us well, surely she might take away our restraints without rifling our " liberties, and equalize our commerce without robbing our Constitution. It was " said that British merchants would send capital to Ireland; that, in fact is, that " after Ireland is drained of her specie by her absentees, and of her commerce by " monopolies, perhaps the British merchants might venture a hundred thousand " pounds to usurize in Ireland, and transmit the profits to Great Britain—a glorious " exchange for the security of a resident Parliament, whose efforts had already " raised Ireland from poverty to splendour—with a reluctance bordering on a breach,

" Great Britain granted us the trade we now enjoy, and is it to be conceived she will " sacrifice more willingly to our interests when *in* her power than when we are *out* " of it?

" A most disgusting example of sordid folly is exhibited by the corporation of " Cork only. In order to prevail on Cork to declare for a Union, she has been " informed by Government, that her trade will increase by British capital, and her " city be embellished by a royal dock-yard. What is the present obstruction to the " trade of Cork?—want of enterprise only; she has the same capacity to trade she " could have by a Union; and however well situated for trade, there is not a naval " town in Great Britain that has any trade. Cork has been grossly deceived; even " if she did receive any advantage from the project, surely partial and uncertain " advantage can never weigh against certain, general, and national injury; Cork will " yet return to her reason, and feel that she can have no interest independent of, or " separate from, Ireland.

" The farmer will feel this project—the demesne will be deserted by the " absentee, and the labourer remain unemployed on the demesne—the produce of " land must lower in value, whilst the rents of the present farms will remain the " same; and as the consumption decreases, the evil will accompany it, till the once " wealthy farmer becomes an impoverished heart-broken bankrupt. Absentees have " already been justly accounted an important injury to Ireland—that injury must " increase tenfold—all the specie of Ireland will follow them half-yearly to Great " Britain—the griping English agent will supplant the kind and indulgent landlord " —and the Irish tenant become the impoverished slave of the Irish absentee.

" The first measure of a Union must be taxation—the first act of kindness, a " tax of ten per cent. on Irish property, not modified to Irish circumstances by an " Irish Parliament, but calculated by a Scotch minister and executed by a British " authority; the tax table of England will become the statute book of Ireland, and " the great doubt will then be, whether our wants or our burdens are the greatest.

" The treacherous reasons assigned for the completion of this project, are our " differences and our misfortunes;—differences which arose from the duplicity of that " same minister who now seeks to subdue us, and misfortunes which were stimulated " by him, to adapt us for his own conquest.

" But the settlement of those differences, and the alleviation of these misfortunes,

" are adapted to the deliberation of an Irish and not of a British Parliament. The " Irish Parliament is fully competent to consider, discuss, and remedy the grievances " of its own country. If a modification of tithes, an adjustment of religious con- " troversies, an extension of trade by bounties or drawbacks, an encouragement to " manufactures or to inland navigation, an equalization of taxes, or any other regu- " lations, become necessary, why should we apply to five hundred and forty-seven " English and Scotchmen, to arrange our trade and modify our national establish- " ments? It is absurd and insolent to demand, and it would be mean, vicious, and " pusillanimous to submit to it.

" Great Britain has *nothing* to give, which can compensate the loss of inde- " pendence: we ask no favour from her, and we will submit to no injury; we will " unite with her as a friend and as a sister in the common cause; our lives and our " properties shall be united with her in support of our King and our Constitution; we " will rise and fall with her; but we will not submit to be ruled by a British faction, " and plundered by a British minister, to satisfy the avarice or the jealousy of those " persons to whose confidence and liberality this minister owes his gratitude, and " which he can only repay by heaping burdens upon Ireland. If alleged to be a " measure solely for the good of Ireland, he believed experience had convinced us that " no British or Scottish minister ever yet attempted to *force* upon Ireland any " measure for the benefit of her commerce or constitution. When such measures " were brought forward, how lukewarm was the minister's acquiescence; and when " the famous propositions were discussed, it appeared that he affected to assist our " trade—but it was at the expense of our Constitution. The Irish Parliament saw " the trick; the state juggler was unveiled, and the measure relinquished. What " reasons have we to place more confidence in Mr. Pitt's intentions towards us now, " than at that memorable period?—the reverse. It is as clear as noon-day, that his " system has been most treacherous; his government here excited the different sects " to oppose each other: an indolent system was adopted, to permit some strength " to the disaffected; then a vigorous system, to give energy to the loyalist. Then " Government acted on the defensive against treason—then the minister plunged " into martial law; the Catholic and the Protestant were alternately encouraged and " depressed; the loyalty of the yeomanry saved Ireland: both parties had bled and

" were weak, and what is called the lenient system was adopted—the rebel was par-
" doned, and sent back to rob, to murder, and burn; the yeoman and the loyalist were
" either insulted, oppressed, or degraded—in some instances *executed;* the loyal
" national spirit was purposely suppressed; and, when all was ripe for a government
" revolution, the measure of a Union, equally oppressive and disgusting to every class
" and every sect, was brought forward, in expectation that we were too worn out, too
" weak, and too indifferent to resist or reject any thing which professed to be for our
" tranquillization. And to prove that this system was adopted for these purposes, it
" is only necessary to recollect the words of the noble lord who proposes it: 'that it
" 'had been a measure long considered, and maturely weighed.' If that was the case,
" it was obvious that it might have been brought forward in a time of tranquillity;
" and equally obvious, that it had been purposely postponed till this desperate system
" had sufficiently worked upon the nation, to adapt it to the minister's will and
" pleasure. But the Parliament has yet virtue enough to resist an act of national
" degradation. The British minister had better beware of this system of treachery
" and fraternization: it was by the very same means, and with the very same objects,
" that the French Republic had overrun all Europe; and with the very same system,
" and for the very same purposes, that she had assailed Ireland—a desperate example
" to the British empire, and an attempt unworthy of the generosity and character of
" the British nation.

" The compact between great Britain and Ireland was not all on one side; there
" was a mutual dependence, to a mutual advantage. She took our linens—we fed
" her fleet; she protected our trade—we gave her our soldiers. Her fleets and her
" armies were as material to her, as our linens and our commerce to us. There is no
" nation on earth that would not be proud of our connexion on the same terms; and
" therefore let it never be said that the dependence is solely on our side.

" On the abstract question he was clear and decided; the discussion of detail
" admitted a principle which he was determined to resist by every means, and to
" every extremity. He declared his sentiments openly, boldly, and decisively, that
" no terms Great Britain could grant, no favour she could bestow, would form any
" compensation for the loss of independence and security; and though he had on
" most subjects freely and zealously given his support to the King's Government, on

" this question no earthly consideration could ever console him for surrendering the " honour, the security, and the liberties of his country."

MR. KNOX, (Member for Philipstown.)—" I am satisfied that, in point of com- " merce, England has not any thing to give to this country ; but was it otherwise, " I would not descend to argue it, for I would not surrender the liberties of my " country for the riches—for the wealth of the universe.

" I cannot find words to express the horror I feel at a proposition so extremely " degrading and insulting; to entertain it, even for a moment, in my opinion, is not " free from some criminality. What ! shall we deliberate whether this kingdom " shall cease to exist; whether this land shall be struck from the scale of nations; " whether its very name is to be no more, but erased from the map of the world for " ever? Shall it, I say, be a question, whether we surrender to another separate " country, and to another separate legislature, the lives, liberties, and properties of " five millions of people, who delegated us here to defend, but not destroy the " constitution? It is a proposition monstrous in the extreme, and should be consi- " dered merely to join our disgust and execration with that of the people; then dash " it from us, never to take it up again. Will any advocate for this detestable Union " tell me we shall be represented with any effect in the senate of the empire ; how " could our few transported, itinerant, strolling members, have any weight in the scale " of British representation?—the idea is preposterous."

LORD CASTLEREAGH " trusted, that no man would decide on a measure of such " importance as that in part before the House, on private or personal motives; for if " a decision were thus to be influenced, it would be the most unfortunate that could " ever affect the country. What was the object of this measure but such as every " loyal man, who really loved his country, must feel the strongest attachment to? " By an incorporation of our legislature with that of Great Britain, it would not only " consolidate the strength and glory of the empire, but it would change our internal " and local government to a system of strength and calm security, instead of being a " garrison in the island. Here was but a part of many and numerous advantages, " which the stage of the business did not then render necessary to be entered into, " and which would come more suitably at a future period. As to the argument of " the Parliament's incompetence to entertain the question, he did not expect to hear

" such an argument from constitutional lawyers, or to hear advanced the position, " that a legislature was not at all times competent to do that for which it could only " have been instituted—the adoption of the best means to promote the general hap- " piness and prosperity.

" Absentees would be somewhat increased, no doubt, but the evil would be com- " pensated by other advantages, and among them by the growth of an intermediate " class of men, between the landlord and the peasant—a class of men whose loss is " felt in Ireland, to train the mind of the lower orders. These we would have from " England. We would also have capital from thence; and as to emigration, the " difficulty and expense would counteract that evil. At all events, these inconve- " niences would be but a grain of sand, compared with the advantages which would " be derived by internal security, and by our growing together in habits of amity " and affection."

Mr. Plunkett.—" Sir, the freedom of discussion which has taken place on " this side of the House, has, it seems, given great offence to gentlemen on the " Treasury Bench; they are men of nice and punctilious honour, and they will not " endure that any thing should be said which implies a reflection on their untainted " and virgin integrity. They threatened to take down the words of an honourable " gentleman who spoke before me (Mr. Barrington) because they conveyed an insi " nuation; and I promised them, on that occasion, that if the fancy for taking down " words continued, I would indulge them in it to the top of their bent. Sir, I am " determined to keep my word with them; and I now will not insinuate, but I will " directly assert, that base and wicked as is the object proposed, the means used to " effect it have been more flagitious and abominable! Do you choose to take down " my words? Do you dare me to the proof? Sir, I had been induced to think, that " we had at the head of the executive government in this country, a plain, honest " soldier, unaccustomed to and disdaining the intrigues of politics, and who, as an " additional evidence of the directness and purity of his views, had chosen for his " Secretary a simple and modest youth *(Ingenui vultus puer ingenuique pudoris)*, " whose inexperience was the voucher of his innocence; and yet I will be bold to " say, that during the Viceroyalty of this unspotted veteran, and during the admi- " nistration of this unassuming stripling—within these last six weeks—a system of

" black corruption has been carried on within the walls of the Castle, which would " disgrace the annals of the worst period of the history of either country. Do you " choose to take down my words? I need call no witnesses to your bar to prove " them. Sir, the noble lord has shown much surprise that he should hear a doubt " expressed concerning the competence of Parliament to do this act; I am sorry that " I also must contribute to increase the surprise of the noble lord. If I mistake not, " his surprise will be much augmented before this question shall be disposed of: he " shall see and hear what he has never before seen or heard, and be made acquainted " with sentiments to which, probably, his heart has been a stranger. Sir, I in the " most express terms deny the competency of Parliament to do this act; I warn " you, do not dare to lay your hand on the constitution; I tell you, that if, circum- " stanced as you are, you pass this act, it will be a mere nullity, and that no man in " Ireland will be bound to obey it. I make the assertion deliberately; I repeat it, " and I call on any man who hears me to take down my words. You have not " been elected for this purpose; you are appointed to make laws and not legislatures; " you are appointed to act under the constitution, and not to alter it; you are " appointed to exercise the functions of legislators and not to transfer them; and if " you do so, your act is a dissolution of the Government; you resolve society into " its original elements, and no man in the land is bound to obey you. Sir, I state " doctrines which are not merely founded in the immutable laws of truth and " reason; I state not merely the opinions of the ablest and wisest men who have " written on the science of government; but I state the practice of our constitution, " as settled at the era of the revolution; and I state the doctrine under which the " house of Hanover derives its title to the throne. But, Sir, we are told that we " should discuss this question with calmness and composure; I am called on to sur- " render my birth-right and my honour, and I am told I should be calm and should " be composed. National pride! independence of our country! these, we are told " by the noble lord, are vulgar topics, fitted only for the meridian of a mob, but " unworthy to be mentioned to such an enlightened assembly as this;—they are " trinkets and gewgaws fit to catch the fancy of childish and unthinking people like " you, Sir, or like your predecessor in that chair; but utterly unworthy the consi- " deration of this House, or the matured understanding of the noble lord who con-

" descends to instruct it. Gracious God! we see a Pery* re-ascending from the " tomb, and raising his awful voice to warn us against the surrender of our freedom, " and we see that the proud and virtuous feelings which warm the breast of that " aged and venerable man, are only calculated to excite the contempt of this young " philosopher, who has been transplanted from the nursery to the cabinet, to outrage " the feelings and understanding of the country. How will a Union effect those " pre-disponent causes? Will you conciliate the minds of the northern, by carica- " turing all the defects of the constitution and then extinguishing it, by draining " his wealth to supply the contributions levied by an imperial Parliament; and by " outraging all his religious and moral feelings by the means which you use to accom- " plish this abominable project? And will you not, by encouraging the drain of " absentees, and taking away the influence and example of resident gentlemen, do " every thing in your power to aggravate the poverty, and to sublimate the igno- " rance and bigotry of the south? Sir, I thank Administration for this measure: " they are, without intending it, putting an end to our dissensions—through this " black cloud, which they have collected over us, I see the light breaking in upon " this unfortunate country; they have composed our dissensions, not by fomenting " the embers of a lingering and subdued rebellion—not by hallooing the Protestant " against the Catholic, and the Catholic against the Protestant—not by committing " the north against the south—not by inconsistent appeals to local or to party pre- " judices—No: but by the avowal of this atrocious conspiracy against the liberties of " Ireland, they have subdued every petty feeling and subordinate distinction; they " have united every rank and description of men by the pressure of this grand and " momentous subject; and, I tell them, that they will see every honest and independent " man in Ireland rally round her constitution, and merge every other consideration " in his opposition to this ungenerous and odious measure. For my own part, I " will resist it to the last gasp of my existence, and with the last drop of my blood, " and when I feel the hour of my dissolution approaching, I will, like the father of " Hannibal, take my children to the altar, and swear them to eternal hostility against " the invaders of their country's freedom."

* Earl of Limerick.

MR. CORRY observed, " that the measure of a Union was proposed for dis-
" cussion only; and though he considered it the only means that could afford safety
" to Ireland, and security to the empire; yet, if it should meet the disapprobation
" of the House, and of the people without doors, he had no hesitation to say that it
" ought to be rejected."

MR. COOTE expressed, " that warm as was the language of some gentlemen, he
" could not agree to record in the journals an interdict to the discussion and conside-
" ration of any Union whatever with Great Britain; on the other hand, he was ready
" to pledge himself never to support any Union which did not meet the decided appro-
" bation of Parliament and of the people."

COL. O'DONNELL *(in a maiden speech)*.—" There is no person, in or out of
" this House, who can be more anxious for supporting the closest connection
" between England and Ireland than I have been, and ever shall. I have fought to
" preserve it from being interrupted by external and internal foes; but should the
" legislative independence of Ireland be voted away by a Parliament which is not
" competent thereto, I shall hold myself discharged from my allegiance (a cry of order
" order); I say, Mr. Speaker, the constitution will be violated; I will join the
" people in preserving their rights—I will oppose the rebels in rich clothes with as
" much energy as I ever have done the rebels in rags."

MR. MAHON.—" I am not one of those placemen or pensioners to whom the
" honourable gentleman (Col. O'Donnell) so liberally alludes. I love my country
" as truly as any one man on the other side of the House, be that man who he
" may; and I do most solemnly declare, that no object of self-interest does, or could,
" influence my vote upon this occasion."

MR. J. C. BERESFORD.—" It fortunately happens, that the opinion of my consti-
" tuents on this occasion, perfectly coincide with my own; but had it occurred that
" they had entrusted me to support the measure of a Union, I should have disre-
" garded those instructions; for though they might choose to barter their rights for
" local considerations, they would have no right to pledge me, an independent
" member of the legislative body, to vote away the rights of the nation at large.
" The warm friend, and the zealous advocate in the cause of British connexion, I
" sincerely lament that a question should be brought on so replete with destruction
" to that connexion. I have the highest personal regard for the noble lord who, in

" his official capacity as Secretary, has brought forward this question, so destructive " and detested by the Irish nation, and I am sincerely sorry that he has been " made the instrument to bring forward such a proposition. For the minister of " England I entertain the highest respect; I have been ever in the habit of supporting " his administration, from an approbation of his conduct and an admiration of " his abilities; but no motives of personal regard, not even to my dearest and " nearest connexions, could induce me to give a vote in Parliament, whereby I " should conceive myself accessory to the annihilation of the legislative independence " of my country."

MR. EDGWORTH, in a short speech, delivered his sentiments against the measure, and concluded with approving of the amendment.

MR. BALL.—" I object to the measure, on higher and more constitutional " ground—the incompetence of Parliament to entertain it. My opinion is, that this " Parliament, emanating from the people, elected by them, and sent into this House " for the purpose of guarding and defending the constitution, has no right to subvert " it; has no right to overturn those liberties which they were appointed to defend, " or to annihilate that power from whence they derive their own. We sit not here " by virtue of any original or inherent privilege of our own; we are the temporary " trustees of delegated power, and any act of ours tending to defeat or betray the " trust reposed in us, must be inconsistent with the nature of our authority, and " cannot be warranted by it; therefore I do not hesitate to say, that if this Parlia- " ment should be weak enough to pass an act for the subversion of the constitution, " the act would be a nullity, and not binding upon the nation. Though we should " vote away the constitution which we are appointed to maintain; though we " should pronounce sentence of death upon those liberties which have been entrusted " to our care; yet that constitution, being the pre-existing and paramount authority, " being the energetic and vivifying principle of our own existence, would survive an " impotent vote; those liberties would still continue to live. I hope they will live " for ever.

" In the opinion I have given, I am only reporting the sentiments expressed by " the people in every county in which they have assembled. I am echoing the voice " of this very Parliament, when, in the year 1782, they demanded a free constitution, " and declared, ' That no power on earth was competent to bind Ireland but a Par-

" ' liament of its own.' I am speaking the voice of the British Parliament, ratifying " and confirming this demand of the Irish nation. I am speaking the voice of the " King himself, the common parent of both countries, proclaiming from the throne " the compact between the two nations, and declaring that it should be inviolable and " irrevocable."

MR. HOLMES supported the original address.

LORD CORRY " felt it his duty to deliver his decided disapprobation of the " measure as disgraceful to the country, as well as pregnant with every possible " mischief to its constitution, commerce, and manufactures—he would therefore op- " pose it in every stage."

MR. J. M. O'DONNEL.—" I deny that the constitution is an article to be bar- " tered for; I deny the power of Parliament to barter or dispose of it, on any terms; " and I publicly assert, that should we ever be base enough to do so, the people will " have a right to oppose it. For my part I will oppose it here, there, and every- " where. If my opposition to it in this House shall not be successful, I will oppose " it in the field. It is no common question; it is one which goes to the very ex- " istence of my country. I have made up my mind on what my conduct shall be: " I shall either live free, or fall by the cut-six of some Hessian sabre, or some other " foreign mercenary. While I have existence I shall oppose it."

SIR W. G. NEWCOMEN, " not having been instructed by his constituents " to oppose the measure of a Union, considered himself at liberty to vote for its " discussion, not pledging himself, however, to any future support of the question."

MR. TRENCH (Wood-lawn).—" On a question so important as the present, I " think it a duty incumbent on me to declare my sentiments. They are uninfluenced, " I think, by passion or prejudice, and I am sure they are unbiassed by interested or " party motives. Scarce allowed time to breathe after suppressing a cruel and un- " natural rebellion, we are called upon to decide on a question of unparalleled " magnitude in the annals of our country; we are called on to decide on the principle " of a legislative incorporating Union with Great Britain. Any decision on this great " point would be, in my mind, premature, till the wishes of the great body of the " people are fully and sufficiently known; and without their consent, either expressed " or implied by their acquiescence, the Legislature ought not, they have no right, to

" make a radical change in the constitution. The people have not yet had time to " make their sentiments known; some few counties have indeed instructed their " representatives, but the northern counties are silent, the south and west are silent. " The Presbyterians in the north, and the Roman Catholics in the south and west, " a numerous and respectable part of the community, have not yet declared their " sentiments; they seem to hold back with a respectful deference, till they understand " the subject better.

" I cannot approve of either the original address or the amendment. I shall " vote for the amendment, as it appears to me the least evil of the two, and that the " principle may be brought forward again for discussion in some other form, when " the wishes of the people are better ascertained, if it should appear agreeable to " those wishes."

MR. TRENCH afterwards, in the course of the debate, declared, " that he was " convinced he was mistaken in thinking that, by voting for the amendment, the field " was left more open for future discussion; that he now saw it went to prevent all " future discussion, and therefore should vote for the original address. He was not " ashamed, he said, to avow his error, and he thought it more honourable than to " persevere in it.

" ' Falsus honor juvat, et mendax infamia terret
" ' Quem, nisi mendosum et mendacem ?' "

MR. A. MOORE.—" I maintain, that though Parliament may assume the *power*, " it has not the *right*, to change or alter, much less to abrogate altogether, the " constitution of this land, of which they are only the delegated functionaries, and " not the exclusive owners; and I maintain, that if, by the violent exercise of the " *abstract power* of Parliament to do that which its *moral competence* is insufficient " to do, the measure of a Union should be carried, against the sense of the people, " that in such a case the laws of the incorporated legislature would not bind this " island, and that then ' the question of resistance (to use the words of Mr. Fox) " ' would no longer be a question of morality but of prudence;' and, Sir, if these be " strong doctrines, who has forced them from me? those who have made this atro- " cious attack upon the independent Parliament of this land, which I am sworn to " defend as part of the existing constitution, in which no man is altogether *sui juris*,

" but a trustee for the rights of others, whose boast and birthright it is. I would put " this case, and it has not been put yet, though there have been enough of hypotheses, " upon this wild project of destroying our excellent practical establishment."

MR. WILLIAM SMITH.—" I rise explicitly to declare my decided opinion " (without pretending to estimate the weight which that opinion ought to have), that " Parliament is as competent to conclude a Union, as it is to enact a Turnpike Bill."

SIR L. PARSONS said, " that at that late hour he did not rise to speak to the " question at large. The sentiment of the nation was now so decidedly evinced, by " the sense of the independent gentlemen in the House, against a Union, that he " hoped the minister would never give him an opportunity of speaking to the subject " again, but would abandon it. If, however, he should further persevere, Sir L. " would take the earliest opportunity of speaking his sentiments fully, and should " now content himself with declaring his decided disapprobation of it."

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 15, 1800.

LORD VISCOUNT LOFTUS moved the address.

COLONEL CROSBIE seconded the address.

SIR LAURENCE PARSONS said, " from the time we rejected the measure of a " Union last session, the minister has employed every engine of the Government, and " endeavoured by the most unwarrantable practices to pervert the sentiments of the " Parliament on that subject—and he does not wish that you should take it into " consideration until his machinations are complete. If those in power thought a " Union would be a beneficial measure for these kingdoms, they should propose it to " the free, uninfluenced, uncontaminated sentiment of Parliament—instead of which, " means have been used which would render this measure, if carried, not an act of the " Parliament, but an act of despotism. It matters not whether you, the representa-

" tives of this great nation, are turned out of that door by the sword of the army, or " the gold of the Treasury—by a Cromwell or by a Secretary—the treason against " the constitution is the same. One of the greatest offences of James II. was " attempting to pack a Parliament—What is the offence that I arraign now? It is, " that the minister of the Crown is prostituting the prerogative of appointing to " places, in order to pack a Parliament. The transaction is too glaring—a string of " men are to go out who were against the Union, in order that a string of men may " come in who are for it. Any thing so barefaced has not appeared in either king- " dom since the days of that abdicated Monarch. Are we then to sit supinely here " until his practices are matured? Are we to wait while we see the serpent collecting " himself in his coils, only to spring upon us with greater violence, and not strike at " him now? Are any measures to be kept with a Government, which is proceeding " against your Constitution by such foul means? Does not the time in which the " English ministers have determined to attempt the Union, prove that they mean to " take an *unfair advantage of Ireland?* They first attempted it during the weak- " ness and distraction of this country, and in the last session, and though rejected by " this House, and condemned universally by the nation, they are preparing to renew " the attack now, while the spirit of the people is still depressed by recent troubles— " while the country is covered with armies far greater than ever were known here " before—while martial law prevails, and a formidable invasion is menaced; in short, " while apprehensions from without and from within preclude all free exercise of the " public mind upon this fatal project, they hope to trample on the independency of " Ireland.

" If any one ask, why should a British cabinet wish to take advantage of Ireland, " and put down its constitution? I ask why was British supremacy ever assumed? " Why was the 6th of George I. ever enacted? Why, in three years after it was " repealed, was its principle attempted to be revived in the propositions? The " answer is, because the ministers of any nation upon earth would wish to obtain for " their own country a domination over any other that could be prevailed on to submit " to it. In fact, the ministers of England have never ceased to regret the cession of " independency which was made to this country in 1782; in three years after, they " attempted to recover it partially in the propositions, and, being defeated, they formed

" the scheme of recovering it totally in the Union. In short, every thing concurs to " prove that the Union is wholly a project, to regain the power which England " relinquished to you in 1782.

" But the measure projected now would sweep every vestige of a Parliament off " the land, and a remnant of your members, at 400 miles distance, in another kingdom, " in an assembly where they would be but a cipher, with nearly six to one to over- " rule them on every question, would in future be the only guardians of the rights " and properties of this great nation,—the poor and impotent shadows of its former " power!

" On the other hand, see what your own Parliament has done for your country, " and in the memory of many who hear me. It passed the Octennial law; in doing " so, its members, who were elected for life, made the noblest sacrifice of any assembly " upon record, voluntarily putting an end to their power, and rendering back the " elective right to the people; again, in 1779, the Irish Parliament recovered the " commercial liberties of this country, in direct opposition to the minister of the " Crown here, and thus established that freedom of trade. Again, the Irish Parlia- " ment rendered the judges independent of the Crown, as in England. It also passed " the Habeas Corpus Act, and thus obtained for the Irish nation that writ which has " always been esteemed one of the best shields of personal freedom.

" Feel yourselves as you are, and you will see no more reason, that the English " nation should legislate for the Irish, than the Irish for the English. At the first " settlement of the English here, our constitution was established on terms of " equality with England. Again, in 1782, the settlement was revised and re- " established on terms of perfect equality. Yet what do we hear now? that the " Parliament of Ireland is unfit to legislate for Ireland—and that the English " Parliament, with a small infusion from your country, ought to legislate for you in " future. How would such a sentiment have been received within these walls in the " year 1782? Has the short paroxysm of a rebellion so broken our fortitude, and " subdued our spirits, that we are willing to sink into such abjection? Or have our " unfortunate religious schisms so exasperated and divided us, that, in a fit of wrath " against each other, we shall foolishly betray the rights of all? Was this the " conduct of our ancestors, who lived in more arduous times, amidst more raging

" animosities, and more terrible civil wars? Quite the contrary—a patriotic spirit, " even in their worst days, elevated their minds; and though they struggled with " each other for dominion, they united in one thing—to preserve the Parliamentary " constitution of their country.

" A set of English and Scotch journeymen politicians get together in a corner " of London, and project schemes for the settlement of this great nation which they " know little or nothing about; and they proceed not merely to tamper with the " constitution of Ireland, but resolve to pull it down altogether, and with it every " thing wise in the policy of our ancestors, and of all the great statesmen here for " 600 years.

" When England destroys the Parliament of this country, she lets go her safest " gripe of it—never will she get such an engine so secure for herself, and so beneficial " for us for the government of it in future. This is too great a country to be ruled " by an external Parliament—too powerful in situation—too powerful in people— " too powerful in sentiment to be so governed, and too long used to a Parliament of " its own.

" But the ultimate danger of this measure to English power is even still greater " than I have stated—for you not only take out of the country a considerable body " of the principal men who are best affected to the English Government, but you " offend and irritate a great portion of those who remain. Let meddling politicians " therefore beware of what they are doing—any Government may proceed in times " of facility and peace, but when a day of difficulty and danger arrives, their new " vamped-up legislature, at a distance, in another kingdom, may be found but a poor " engine for governing this—it may resolve and it may enact, and its denunciations " may become like the play-house thunder of the Vatican in modern times, the " derision of those they are intended to appal."

Sir Laurence then moved the following amendment:—

" *To assure His Majesty, that this His Majesty's kingdom of Ireland is* " *inseparably united with Great Britain, and that the sentiments, wishes, and real* " *interests of all his subjects, are, that it should continue so united in the enjoyment* " *of a free Constitution, in the support of the honour and dignity of His Majesty's* " *Crown, and in the advancement of the welfare of the whole empire; which*

" *blessings we owe to the spirited exertions of an independent resident Parliament,*
" *the paternal kindness of His Majesty, and the liberality of the British Parliament*
" *in* 1782, *and which we feel ourselves at all times, and particularly at the present*
" *moment, bound in duty to maintain.*"

MR. SAVAGE.—" I rise to second the amendment, and to declare that the " decided sentiments of the great and populous county of Down, which I represent, " is against the baneful measure of a Union."

LORD CASTLEREAGH said, " he had withdrawn the question last year, under a " persuasion that the measure was not completely understood, but thinking as he " did upon the subject, convinced of the many commercial and political advantages " it would produce to Ireland, and of its tendency to increase the general strength " and prosperity of the empire, and being fully satisfied that it was now approved of " by a great majority of the people, he should think that he had betrayed his duty to " his Sovereign and to his country, if he did not again submit the question to the " cool and dispassionate consideration of the Parliament of Ireland.

" He had stated, that it was his intention to bring forward the measure for the " full consideration of Parliament, and he (Lord Castlereagh) relied upon the good " sense of the House, that if they did not think it proper to adopt the measure, they " would at least give it a full and fair consideration, and entertain it with respect."

LORD COLE said, " he was one of those country gentlemen who had voted " against pledging the House against the discussion of a Union; he had done so " because he did not wish to preclude himself from an opportunity of obeying his " constituents, if they should approve the measure; they had agreed with him in " reprobating it, and the artifices used to procure support for it, had confirmed him " in his opposition. He would oppose it while he had life."

MR. J. C. BERESFORD said, " he would never agree to such a projected measure, " except from the most imperious motives of danger and difficulty—such as a revolu- " tion within and an invasion from without. In such a tempestuous time, he said " before, and then would say, that a consolidation of the Parliaments might be right " and necessary when it would be unsafe and impossible to seek appropriate legislative " correctives in an agitated land; but, even in such a time, he would merely agree " to a temporary relinquishment of parliamentary power; and, at the moment

" of yielding up that invaluable imperial pledge, he would make a specific provision " for its restitution, when the return of peace and conciliation would enable us to " resume it with safety and effect."

THE RIGHT HON. MR. OGLE.—" I did not imagine that, after the sense of the " House had been so clearly ascertained on this subject, the Irish minister would " have been bold enough to introduce, or the British minister wicked enough to per- " severe in the measure of Union. My opposition to it does not flow from any party " or faction. I think it a measure fraught with every ill to Ireland and Great " Britain; a measure whose tendency will be to render the British minister tri- " umphant over the constitutions of both countries."

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE J. FITZGERALD.—" If you reject the amendment, " you will, with that rejection, consign the future talents, genius, and virtues of the " Irish nation to waste in the desert air, to die unknown. Have you children? Will " you put out the light of Ireland? I know not where you will find *that Promethean* " *heat which can that light restore, should you repent.* But seeing such members " about me, who have risen, upon the buoyant spirit of Parliament, to honour and " consideration, I cannot persuade myself to think that they will selfishly assent to " such an exclusion of the posterity of the nation, and such an entailment of incapa- " city upon their country. O you who are blessed with, or hope to be blessed with " children, attend to me, while I call upon the most informed advocate of the pro- " jected measure, to point out an instance of a Scot, since the Union with Great " Britain, rising to imperial consideration, who had not previously abdicated Scotland " and domesticated himself with England. Would to God that gentlemen would " consider what they are and what they were, what Ireland is and what she was, and " then let them, if they can, appreciate the value of a Parliament to a country and a " people. Before they proceed far in the calculation, they will exclaim with me— " *Stat fortuna domûs et avi numerantur avorum.*

" To me the imputation of faction does not belong; I feel myself above it. I " never did, and never will, belong to any party. I was above twenty years the " zealous servant of the King; I shall ever be his loyal subject. A great question, " and of an irrevocable nature arose; on that I differed in opinion from those with " whom I had so long acted. To the sincerity of that opinion I sacrificed the first

" and most lucrative office in my profession, and political connexions which I respect. " If there are factious men, if there are corrupt men, let the galled jades wince, my " withers are unwrung. The Parliament of Ireland is the sacred palladium of her " connexion with Great Britain; should it be stolen, may God, in his affection to " both countries, keep out the common enemy, and continue them together.

" The genius, the ambition, and the aspiring thoughts of man, are not to be " controlled; and little reason have we, dressed in a little brief and questioned " authority, to expect that the increasing population of four millions of people will " respect this compact, if entered into, as sacred. They will be told that the country " was called upon to this compact, when martial law was in full force. They will " hear of the years 1779 and 1782. They will inquire how they lost the great " acquisition of those days—a free, residing, superintending legislature. They will " inquire by what means they lost the power of granting supplies, the true source of " national independence, and the great constitutional controul of the executive " power, whether resident or non-resident; and much I fear, that, dazzled by the " splendour, without the loyalty and moderation, of 1782, similar claims may be " made, and Great Britain may not be found in a similar disposition to concede. " *My soul aches to think, with what ease confusion in that gap may enter, and by* " *the one country take the other.* Under those impressions, I shall vote with the " Honourable Baronet."

MR. G. PONSONBY.—" If ever this House should consent to its own immo- " lation—if ever the members of the Irish Commons should assent to an act for " turning themselves out of doors—if this should ever happen, hope shall not quit " me, until the last man shall have passed the door, which the minister should close " upon our liberties when they shall approach that door. If they but cast a look " behind—if they but view that chair, where integrity now sits enthroned—if their " eyes but linger on that floor, where the flow of patriot eloquence has been poured " forth for their country—if they but recollect all the struggles of honourable legis- " lation which these walls have witnessed—they will stop before they have taken the " last irretrievable step. They will cling to this House, the temple of their honour, " and they would tell the Minister, ' Sir, you have taken an unjust advantage of our " ' confidence to desire us to destroy our country; you have taken a most ungenerous

" ' and unjust advantage of the state of that country, to seduce its Parliament to " ' annihilate itself and the liberties of its constituents—but we will show you that " ' you have been mistaken in the calculation of our baseness—we will show you " ' that we represent an honest, brave, and generous people, and are worthy to " ' represent them—we will not flatter, but we will serve them, and establish an " ' eternal claim to their gratitude and to the gratitude of posterity.' This, Sir, I " will suppose to be the influence of feeling, and the triumph of nature and of honour, " should the negotiated sale of our liberties proceed to the last extremity; and until " I shall see the last man out of these doors, and they shut upon him for ever, I will " not believe that these who have lived with such honour will die with such disgrace."

MR. BUSHE.—" I strip this formidable measure of all its pretences and its aggra- " vations; I look at it nakedly and abstractedly, and I see nothing in it but one " question—*Will you give up your country?* I forget for a moment the unprin- " cipled means by which it has been promoted; I pass by for an instant the " unseasonable moment at which it was introduced, and the contempt of Parliament " upon which it is bottomed, and I look upon it simply as England reclaiming, in " a moment of your weakness, that dominion which you extorted from her in a " moment of your virtue; a dominion which she uniformly abused, which invariably " oppressed and impoverished you, and from the cessation of which you date all your " prosperity. It is a measure which goes to degrade the country, by saying it is " unworthy to govern itself, and to stultify the Parliament, by saying it is incapable " of governing the country. It is the revival of the odious and absurd title of con- " quest; it is the renewal of the abominable distinction between mother country and " colony which lost America; it is the denial of the rights of nature to a great nation, " from an intolerance of its prosperity. No man would be so frantic as to state, as " an abstract proposition, that Ireland is physically disfranchised from the common " privileges of nations. If you stated to a native of a foreign nation that a country, " containing a population of nearly five millions of inhabitants, and a territory of " nearly nineteen millions of English acres, inhabited by a brave and generous people, " blessed by nature with a fertile soil, and every aptitude for commercial prosperity and " domestic wealth, was physically incapable of governing itself, that foreigner would " laugh at you. If you stated that a country, containing relatively nearly a half of

" the population of Great Britain, though scarcely a third of its territory, and con-
" taining a metropolis at least the fourth city in Europe, exceeding in extent and
" population the capitals of His Majesty's imperial allies, the Emperors of Russia
" and Germany, was by nature doomed to provincial inferiority, and was radically
" disqualified from governing itself, you would pronounce a libel upon a bountiful
" Providence, and a libel that would not be endured.

" What is it we are called upon to give up? I speak not of national pride or
" dignity; I declaim not upon theoretical advantages; but I tell you, that you are
" called upon to give up that municipal Parliament which has procured you, within
" the memory of you all, municipal advantages which no foreign Parliament can
" supply. We hear of nothing but imperial topics; good God! is the Parliament
" nothing but an instrument of taxation? Is nothing understood of a House of
" Commons but that it is an engine for raising money out of the pockets of the
" subject and throwing it into the coffers of the Crown? Take up any volume of
" your statutes upon that table; you will find the municipal acts of Parliament in
" the proportion of more than forty to one to the imperial. What has, within the
" memory of many men alive, changed the face of your land? What has covered a
" country of pasture with tillage? What has intersected a formerly impassable country
" with roads? What has nearly connected, by inland navigation, the eastern chan-
" nel with the western ocean? A resident Parliament!—Look at your statutes and
" your journals, and there is not one of those improvements which you cannot
" trace to some document of your own public spirit now upon that table, and
" to no other source or cause under heaven. Can this be supplied in Westminster?
" Could a committee of this House make a road in Yorkshire? No! nothing can
" supply a resident Parliament, watching over national improvement, seizing op-
" portunities, encouraging manufactures, commerce, science, education, and agricul-
" ture, applying instant remedy to instant mischief, mixing with the constituent
" body, catching the sentiment of the public mind, reflecting public opinion, acting
" upon its impulse, and regulating its excess.

" And yet a superior view of the danger of this measure, would tempt me to
" abandon that argument as comparatively light and insignificant; it appears prin-
" cipally formidable to me, as removing the controul of power, and as leaving not a

" vestige of the British constitution in the Kingdom. What form of government is " to be left in this country after a Union? A provincial despotism, and nothing " else; every function of power will be resident, and the controul of power will be " remote; a Lord Lieutenant, at the head of an executive Government perfect in " all its branches; a distinct army, judicature, church, and revenue is to govern this " country, and he is to be controlled by what? By a Parliament in Westminster; " call this Government by what name you please, it is not the British constitution.

" Allow me to solicit your attention to the shallow and ridiculous pretences " for enslaving the country. We have heard from the Government side of the House " to-night of nothing but the rebellion and the conspiracy of the United Irishmen. " What, Sir, is the Parliament to be extinguished, and the gentry degraded, because " the Parliament and the gentry put down the rebellion and defeated the conspiracy? " Are the gentry to be sacrificed to the rebels, and are the disaffected to be at last " conciliated; and how conciliated, by demolishing the constitution? If the spirit " of republican innovation infected a part of this country, is it to be banished by " rendering the country a provincial despotism? Will they who called the connexion " slavery, call the Union liberty? or will they, who pretended to reform the consti- " tution, be suddenly gratified by taking away the only popular part of it?"

Mr. I. M. O'Donel.—" When, last session, I saw the noble Lord prostrate " before this House—when, after his defeat, I beheld him begging the continuance " of our support—I mistook meanness for contrition, and refused to trample on the " fallen enemy of my country; nay, convinced of his sincerity, and that his promise " might be relied on, I gave him my support. But what has been his conduct " since? using every means of corruption to debauch the morals of the people, to " destroy the constitution of his country, the noble Lord has sought for confidence " in order to *betray it.* He has pretended to public virtue, to give effectual strength " to public vice, and he has assumed the name of patriot for the particular purpose " of assassinating and destroying the liberties and constitution of his country. Has " he dared to contradict the assertion this night made to you by his colleague?

" The gentlemen on that bench pretend to laugh at, and treat as trifling, the " idea of bringing proof, to the bar of this House, of the public delinquency of that " noble Lord; but I here pledge myself to this House, that, if an inquiry shall be

" granted, I will prove at that bar that he has attempted to corrupt some of the " members of this House, and that he has applied the means, placed in his hands for " the defence and preservation of this kingdom, for the purpose of destroying it, and " depriving us of our constitution.

" Sir, I oppose the measure, because I know the foul means which have been " made use of to carry it into effect, and because there is no power vested in us, to hand " over to another country the constitution, the laws, and the liberties of Ireland. I do " assert, Sir, in the most solemn manner, that this House is *not* competent to do the " act, and that should its folly, its ignorance, and its corruption influence it to pass " such a bill, that bill will not be binding on the people; as one, I shall never feel " it binding on me."

MR. HARDY said, " If such a measure had not the most full, clear, and un- " equivocal sense of the whole kingdom in its favour, it would be more than pre- " sumption, it would be folly and madness, in ministers to proceed with it. I can " with great safety assert, that if any gentleman can satisfy my mind that this " measure would be beneficial to Ireland, I should not oppose it. But what argu- " ment have its advocates brought forward in its support? Not the semblance of " one. They certainly give us very fine words, and tell us that the Union will effect " great matters; but how it can effect them no one has ever yet proved."

MR. A. MOORE.—" When I came into the House this day, I expected to have " heard from the noble Lord and his colleagues, a language very different from that " tone of insult and authority with which they have commenced the session; indeed, " I could scarcely persuade myself that the same men in whose hands the measure " of a Union had been defeated, with so much disgrace to them and such signal " triumph to this House and to the country, would have had the temerity or the " courage to meet the same Parliament again in office, with a bold avowal of their " perseverance in that most abominable and destructive project. I cannot refrain " from calling the attention of the House to the wicked and unconstitutional *means* " which have been resorted to, in order to impose upon the country, to destroy the " Parliament, and to overturn the constitution; means, many of which are in my " power to prove at that bar, and all of which are universally known, and almost " openly avowed, and the authors, promoters, and perpetrators of which, I hope yet

" to see brought to condign punishment, judged by that Parliament which they have " attempted to annihilate, and prosecuted by that people whom they meditated to " enslave.

" The Union would be, in the first place, destructive of the constitution, which " is the birthright of the Irish people; and, in the next place, subversive of the " popular balance of the English Government, which is the security of English " liberty. It would destroy one Parliament but to corrupt the other; Ireland would " be governed by the sword, and England become the victim of her own usurpation; " and while the empire, instead of acquiring strength, would contract weakness by " such a revolution, the spirit, the nerves, the bones, the marrow, the heart's blood " of this our country, would be exhausted and consumed in maintaining the declining " glory of an ungrateful and ungenerous friend. These, Sir, are my sentiments as to " the *measure* and the *means*."

SIR JOHN PARNELL observed, He would oppose all measures tending to alter the constitution, whether they came from the side of the minister or from any other description of them. He desired to know whether discountenancing loyalty, and banishing the landlord from his residence, did not remove that controul which hitherto had suppressed rebellion. That this was the case, he appealed to experience. A nobleman of the first property had already sold his estate and quitted the country; and so great was the quantity of money daily sent to England from the measure of a Union, that the course of exchange had been a long time at 15 per cent., notwithstanding there had been a loan to Ireland to the amount of two million, which must have considerably lowered the exchange, but for the circumstances he had stated. Many of the official characters whom he addressed had already taken houses in England, and would add to the number of absentees, who would drain the country of all its circulating cash.

DR. BROWNE (College), said, " Inconsistency of conduct is objected to me on " three grounds:—*First*, as to what passed at the election, to which I have answered. " *Secondly*, as to my vote last year, to which I answer, that my speech at the time " shows it was founded upon reasons and arguments adapted only to that time and " occasion, except as to the competency of Parliament, on which I had serious doubts, " which, however, I conceive must have been unfounded, as not a single man sup-

" ported me in them. *Thirdly*, as to the amendment last year going in *perpe-*
" *tuum* as much as that of this year; but I do not conceive that it does.

" To a Union in the abstract I am no friend; if I ever agreed to it, it would
" only be as to a lesser evil. I have ever wished to preserve the constitution of
" 1782, but I have ever thought that a Union with England was preferable to some
" situations in which we have been. Not a Union, but Union upon great and com-
" prehensive terms, made acceptable to all and every part of the nation. After the
" scenes which I beheld in this country during the rebellion, and for some time after,
" I expressly declared to some very respectable and dignified friends, who well remem-
" ber it, that I thought such a Union, under the then existing circumstances,
" desirable; and I never did at any time show that heat and fury upon the subject
" which other men have done. The disposition of the College in general is against
" it, but nearly half of the governing part of the society favour it; and some of them
" have said they would never vote for the man who opposed the Union."

MR. PLUNKETT opposed the Union, in one of the most argumentative speeches ever uttered in the Irish Parliament.

MR. BARRINGTON.—"When this momentous question was last agitated in
" Parliament, I gave it a firm, unequivocal, and decisive negative. That natural
" impulse of fire and indignation which pervaded the soul of any man who felt the
" insults and feared the injury to his country, glowed in mine; I stood forward with
" firmness, and opposed it with vigour. Since that period I have had time for
" reflection; I have thought, I have read, I have deepened into that important sub-
" ject, and what was first the warm and natural impulse of agitated feelings, has
" now become the result of calm investigation and of deliberate judgment. I am of
" the same opinion still, nor is there an inducement on this terrestrial globe, a
" reward under heaven, which could this night seduce me to betray my country; I
" form that determination on genuine principles of the most unshaken loyalty, and
" unequivocal attachment to the benefits and the liberty of the British constitution.
" Acting on these principles, I stand as a supporter of the British Crown, and a friend
" to the British sceptre. For I am confirmed in my opinion that a revolutionary
" measure, arising from the ashes of a rebellion, and grounded on the distractions of a
" nation, never can be permanent. Ireland has now nothing to ask, and Great

" Britain nothing to bestow, which could compensate the advantage of an independent " constitution, or the security of a resident legislature. Our constitution is free, " our trade is open, our manufactures prosper, and our tranquillity is increasing. " What do we want, which we may not look to from the hands of an Irish Senate? " What favour have we to beseech from the hands of a British Parliament? None: " internal peace and internal security will be best achieved amongst those who " are to taste the benefits, and who best know the causes of their real wants and " internal discordance.

Mr. Fox argued against the amendment at great length, and contended that the nature of Irish connexion required an alteration; and that the Settlement of 1782 was not final. He went likewise into a detail of the abuses, which he endeavoured to place to the account of the imperfect state of a constitution and connexion with Great Britain.

Mr. Egan proceeded, in a short but spirited speech, to assert his continued and firm opposition to the measure of a legislative Union, and to bestow on it and its promoters, his strongest reprobation; and he concluded, by giving his hearty assent to the Amendment.

Mr. Grattan, after a luminous defence of the existing constitution of Ireland, proceeded—" I have done with the pile which the minister batters—I come to the " Babel which he builds; and, as he throws down without a principle, so does he " construct without a foundation. This fabric he calls a Union, and to this, his " fabric, there are two striking objections. *First*, it is no Union; it is not an " identification of the people, for it excludes the Catholics. *Secondly*, it is a conso- " lidation of the Irish legislatures, that is to say, a merger of the Irish Parliament, " and incurs every objection to a Union, without obtaining the only object which a " Union professes; it is an extinction of the constitution, and an exclusion of the " people. Whether the representatives be, in a greater or lesser proportion, borough " members, they will be the host of Administration, and not the representatives of " the people. He takes one hundred members, many of whom are removed, by the " nature of their election, from the influence of representation, all of whom, by the " removal from their country, are withdrawn from that of sympathy—from that of " opinion. He changes the sphere, not only of their action, but of their character

" and of their sensations. How came the Irish Parliament, with all its borough " members, in 1779, to demand a free trade; in 1782, to demand a free consti- " tution? Because it sat in Ireland—because they sat in their own country; and " because, at that time, they had a country; because, however influenced, as many " of its members were, by places—however uninfluenced, as many of its members " were, by popular representation—yet were they influenced by Irish sympathy, and " an Irish law of opinion. They did not like to meet every hour faces that looked " shame upon them—they did not like to stand in the sphere of their own infamy— " thus they acted as the Irish absentee at the very same time did not act—they saved " the country because they lived in it, as the others abandoned the country because " they lived out of it.

" I will not say that one hundred Irish gentlemen will act ill, where any man " would act well; but never was there a situation in which they had so much tempt- " ation to act ill, and so little to act well; great expense, and consequent distresses " —support from the voice of an Irish public no check—they will be in situation " a sort of gentlemen of the empire: that is to say, gentlemen at large, unowned by " one country, and unelected by the other; suspended between both—false to both " — and belonging to neither. The sagacious English Secretary of State has fore- " told this, 'What advantage,' says he, 'will it be to the talents of Ireland, this " 'opportunity in the British empire thus opened?'—That is what we dread—the " market of St. Stephen opened to the individual, and the talents of the country, like " its property, dragged from the kingdom of Ireland to be sold in London. These " men, from their situation (man is the child of situation), their native honour may " struggle, but, from their situation, they will be adventurers of the most expensive " kind—adventurers with pretensions—dressed and sold, as it were, in the shrouds " and grave-clothes of the Irish Parliament, and playing, for hire, their tricks on her " tomb—the only repository the Minister will allow to an Irish constitution—the " images of degradation, and the representatives of nothing. Come, he has done " much: he has destroyed one constitution—he has corrupted another; and this " corrupted constitution he calls a parental Parliament.

" A legislature, the parent of both countries, he talks of; a legislature, as far " as relates to Ireland, free from the influence of vicinity, of sympathy. The Isle of

" Man is all that, free from the influence of opinion, free from the influence of duty, " directed by prejudices, and unincumbered with knowledge. In order to judge " what this parental legislature would be, let us consider what the British Parliament has been, and let us compare that Parliament, for this purpose, with its " legislature of Ireland; and in this comparison I do not mean to approve all the " Parliaments that have sat in Ireland. I left the former, because I condemned the " proceedings; but I argue not like the minister, from the misconduct of one Parliament against the being of Parliament itself. I value that Parliamentary constitution by the average of its benefits; and I affirm, that the blessings procured by the " Irish Parliament, in the last twenty years, are greater than all the blessings afforded " by British Parliaments to Ireland for the last century; greater, even, than the " mischiefs inflicted on Ireland by British Parliaments—greater than all the blessings " procured by those Parliaments for their own country within that period; within " that time the legislatures of England lost an empire, and the legislature of Ireland " recovered a constitution.

" Will we have done with this parental Parliament, and now come to the bribes " which he holds out?—And first, he begins with the Church. To the Protestant " church, he promises perpetual security—to the Catholic church his advocates promise " eventual salary—and to both he holds out to the farmer a commutation of tithes. " With respect to the Protestant church, whatever may be his wishes in favour of " its duration, he takes the strongest measures to accomplish its destruction; for he " attempts to disgrace it to all eternity. He is employing, or his agents are employing, several of its members to negotiate away the constitution, and to mendicate " addresses transferring to another country the Parliament and legislative power of " their own, disfranchising the very people by whom the church is fed, and deserting " the holy mission of God to fulfil this profligate mission of the minister. Give up " your country, says the minister—give up your character, and be immortal. So " said Charles the First to his Church, when he prostituted the gospel and regimented the clergy into battalions against the constitution, and overturned the " Church by its own infamy.

" At the same time that the minister endeavours to take away, by his measures, " the authority of one Church, his advocates tell you, that he proposes to give salaries

" to another: that is, they tell you that he proposes to bribe the Catholic clergy, if " they will betray the constitution. In whatever form of religion our pious Court " contemplates the Almighty, it ever occurs to convert Him to some diabolical pur- " pose. The Catholics had been accused, pretty liberally, of disloyalty, by those " very advocates who now seem to think it is proper to reward their imputed treasons " against the King, provided they shall be followed up by real treasons against the " people. I do not believe, I never did believe, the general charges made against " the Catholics—I do not dispute, I never did dispute, the propriety of giving sala- " ries to their clergy—but it should be salaries, not bribes—salaries for the exercise " of their religious duty, and not wages for the practice of political apostacy.

" The Minister proceeds: he proposes his third bribe, namely, the abolition of " tithes. You observe, such a proposal does not seem to form part of his Union, " but is an offer kept back, to be regulated, modified, and qualified when the Union " is past, and the consideration is given. I approve of a modus as a compensation " for tithe; but I do not approve of it as a compensation for Parliament. When I " proposed that measure, and was opposed by men by whom I could only be opposed, " and could not be answered, I was told by the King's ministers, that commutation " of tithes was the overturn of the Church: couple, then, the project of the Minister " now, with the argument of his agents then, and the combined idea amounts to " this, that it is prudent to overturn the Church, provided at the same time you " overturn the constitution; but, the fact is, that the argument, at that time, was " false, and the proposal, at this time, fallacious, and both show that the argument " had for its object personal calumny, and the proposal, national extinction.

" His propositions not only go to your dishonour, but they are built upon nothing " else—he tells you, it is his main argument, that you are unfit to exercise a free " constitution, and he affects to prove it by the experiment. Jacobinism grows, " he says, out of the very state and condition of Ireland. I have heard of Parlia- " ment impeaching ministers, but here is a minister impeaching Parliament: he " does more, he impeaches the Parliamentary Constitution itself—the abuses in that " constitution he has protected, it is only its being that he destroys—on what " ground? Your exports, since your emancipation, and under that Parliamentary " Constitution, and, in a great measure, by that Parliamentary Constitution, have

" nearly doubled; commercially it has worked well. Your concord with England " since the emancipation, as far as it relates to Parliament on the subject of war, has " been not only approved, but has been productive; imperially, therefore, it has " worked well. What, then, does the minister in fact object to? That you have " supported him, that you have concurred in his system; therefore he proposes to " the people to abolish the Parliament, and to continue the minister. He does " more—he proposes to you to substitute the British Parliament in your place—to " destroy the body that restored your liberties, and restore that body which destroyed " them. Against such a proposition, were I expiring on the floor, I should beg to " utter my last breath, and record my dying testimony."

MR. CORRY replied.

At ten the House divided.

Ayes, for the Amendment	96
Noes	138
	42

The Amendment was therefore rejected, and the Address unanimously agreed to.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1800.

" *Message from His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant.*

" CORNWALLIS,

" At the close of the last Session, in obedience to the particular commands which " I received from His Majesty, I acquainted this Parliament that a joint Address of " the two Houses of Parliament of Great Britain had been laid before His Majesty, " accompanied by Resolutions proposing and recommending a complete and entire " Union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be established by the mutual consent " of both Parliaments, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity " of laws, constitution, and government, and on a sense of mutual interests and " affections.

" I have it now further in command from His Majesty, to lay those Resolutions " before this House, and solemnly to recommend to the consideration of his faithful " Commons the great objects they embrace.

" His Majesty has observed with increasing satisfaction, that the sentiments " which have continued to be manifested in favour of this important and salutary " measure, by such numerous and respectable descriptions of his Irish subjects, con- " firm the hope he has expressed, that its accomplishment will prove to be as much " the joint wish, as it unquestionably is the common interest of both of his kingdoms,— " an event to which His Majesty looks forward with the utmost earnestness, as the " only means by which the common interests of all his people can be indissolubly " united, and their security and happiness can be permanently established.

" His Majesty therefore relies on the wisdom of his Parliaments, and the loyal " concurrence of his people, for the completion of this great work, with a firm per- " suasion, that a full and unreserved participation of constitutional and commercial " advantages will augment and perpetuate the prosperity of his subjects of his united " kingdom; and that, under the favour of Divine Providence, the freedom and power " of the British Empire will be established, on a foundation not to be shaken by the " efforts either of its foreign or domestic enemies." C.

Lord CASTLEREAGH submitted the following propositions or articles:—

FIRST RESOLUTION.

" That, in order to promote and secure the essential interest of Great Britain and " Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British " Empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the " two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and " on such terms and conditions, as may be established by the acts of the respective " Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

ARTICLE I.

" Resolved, That for the purpose of establishing a Union, upon the basis stated in " the resolutions of the two Houses of the Parliament of Great Britain, communicated

" by his Majesty's command, in the message sent to this House by his Excellency the " Lord Lieutenant, it would be fit to propose, as the first article of Union, that the " kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon the first day of January, which " shall be in the year of our Lord, 1801, and for ever after, be united into one " kingdom, by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and " that the royal style and titles appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the said United " Kingdom and its dependencies, and also the ensigns, armorial flags, and banners " thereof, shall be such as His Majesty, by his Royal Proclamation under the great " seal of the United Kingdom, shall be pleased to appoint.

ARTICLE II.

" Resolved, That, for the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that the succes- " sion to the Imperial Crown of the said united kingdom, and of the dominions " thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the " succession to the Imperial Crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and " Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the " terms of the Union between England and Scotland.

ARTICLE III.

" Resolved, That, for the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that the said " United Kingdom be represented in one and the same Parliament, to be styled the " Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

ARTICLE IV.

" Resolved, That, for the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that of the Peers " of Ireland, at the time of the Union, four Spiritual Lords by rotation of sessions, " and twenty-eight Temporal Peers for life, shall be the number to sit and vote in the " House of Lords; and one hundred Commoners (*viz.* two for each county of Ireland, " two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, and one for each of the thirty- " two most considerable cities, towns and boroughs), be the number of representatives " of Ireland in the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; " that for the same purpose such acts shall be passed by the Parliament of Ireland

" previous to the Union, to regulate the mode by which the Spiritual Lords and Tem-
" poral Peers, and the Commoners to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom
" on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned or returned to the said Parliament, shall
" be considered as forming part of the Union, and shall be incorporated in the acts of
" the respective Parliaments by which the said Union shall be ratified and established.
" That all questions touching the election of Peers of Ireland to sit in the Parliament
" of the United Kingdom, shall be decided by the House of Lords thereof; and
" whenever there shall be an equality of votes in the election of Peers, the names of
" such Peers who have an equal number of votes in their favour, shall be written on
" pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the clerk of the
" Parliament, at the table of the House of Lords, whilst the House is sitting; and
" the Peer whose name shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the Parliament, shall
" be deemed the Peer elected. That any Peer of Ireland shall be capable of being
" elected as a representative for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, in the
" House of Commons of the United Kingdom, provided that so long as such Peer of
" Ireland shall serve in the House of Commons, he shall not be capable of being
" elected to serve as a Peer on the part of Ireland, or be qualified to vote at the
" election of any Peer, and that he shall be liable to be tried as a Commoner. That
" it shall be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create Peers of that
" part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, to make promotions in the Peerage
" thereof after the Union, provided the number of Peers shall not by such
" creation at any time, be increased beyond the number existing on the first day of
" January, 1801; and if any Peerage shall at any time be in abeyance, such Peerage
" shall be deemed and taken as an existing Peerage, and no Peerage shall be deemed
" extinct unless on default of claimants to the inheritance of such Peerage for the
" space of one year, from the death of the person who shall have been last possessed
" thereof; and if no claim shall be made to the inheritance to such Peerage, in such
" form and manner as may from time to time be prescribed by the House of Lords
" of the United Kingdom, before the expiration of the said period of a year, then,
" and in that case such Peerage shall be deemed extinct, and a new Peer may be
" created, provided that nothing herein shall exclude any person from afterwards
" putting in a claim to the Peerage so deemed extinct; and, if such claim shall be

" made good, no Peer shall be created to supply the place of the next Peerage which " may be deemed extinct, after such claim being made good and established. That " all questions touching the election of members to sit on the part of Ireland in the " House of Commons of the United Kingdom, shall be decided in the same manner " as questions touching elections on the part of Great Britain now are, or at any other " time hereafter shall by law be decided, subject nevertheless to such particular regu- " lations in respect of Ireland, as from local circumstances the Parliament of the said " United Kingdom may from time to time deem expedient. That all qualifications " as to property, which are or shall be required by law of the members elected on the " part of England by counties, cities, and boroughs respectively, to sit in the House " of Commons of the united kingdoms, shall be required of the members to be here- " after elected to sit therein on the part of Ireland, for places of the like description. " That when His Majesty, his heirs, or successors, shall declare his, her, or their " pleasure for holding the first or any subsequent Parliament of the United Kingdom, " a Proclamation do issue under the great seal of the United Kingdom, to cause the " four Spiritual Lords and twenty-eight Temporal Peers, and one hundred Com- " moners who are to serve in the Parliament thereof on the part of Ireland, to be " returned in such manner as by an act of this present session of the Parliament is " or shall be settled; and that if His Majesty, on or before the first day of January, " one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, on which day the Union is to take " place, shall declare, under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that " the Lords of Parliament of Great Britain, and Commons of the present Parliament " of Great Britain, should be the members of the respective Houses of the first Par- " liament of the United Kingdom, for and on the part of Great Britain; then the " said Lords of Parliament of Great Britain, and the Commons of the present " Parliament of Great Britain, shall be the members of the respective Houses of the " first Parliament thereof, for and upon the part of Great Britain. And His " Majesty may, by his Royal Proclamation, under the great seal of Great Britain, " appoint the said first Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and " Ireland to meet, at such time and place as His Majesty shall think fit, and the four " Spiritual Peers, and twenty-eight Temporal Peers, and one hundred Commoners, " who shall have been returned or elected to sit in the first Parliament of the United

" Kingdom, in the event of such Proclamation being issued as aforesaid, in the manner " which shall be prescribed by an act of the present session of Parliament of Ireland, " for regulating the mode by which the Spiritual Lords and Temporal Peers, and the " Commons to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, on the part of " Ireland, shall be summoned or returned to the said Parliament, shall be the " nembers of the respective Houses of the first Parliament of the United Kingdom " on the part of Ireland; and the Lords of Parliament of Great Britain, and the four " Spiritual Lords, and twenty-eight Temporal Peers of Ireland, being summoned and " returned as herein-before provided; and the members of the House of Commons " of the said Parliament of Great Britain, and the hundred members for Ireland, such " hundred members being elected and returned as hereinbefore provided, shall " assemble and meet respectively in the respective Houses of Parliament of the " United Kingdom, at such time and place as shall be so appointed by His Majesty, " and shall be the two Houses of the first Parliament of the United Kingdom of " Great Britain and Ireland; and that Parliament may continue for such time only " as the present Parliament of Great Britain might have continued, if the Union of " the two kingdoms had not been made, unless sooner dissolved by His Majesty; and " that every one of the Lords of Parliament of the United Kingdom, and every " member of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom in the first and all " succeeding Parliaments, shall take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declara- " tions which are at present by law enjoined to be taken, and made and subscribed by " the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of Great Britain, until the Parliament " of the United Kingdom shall provide otherwise; that the said four Spiritual Lords " to sit in rotation of sessions, and the said twenty-eight Temporal Peers to sit for " life in the House of Lords of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, shall have " all privileges of Parliament which the Spiritual and Temporal Peers of Great " Britain respectively now have, and which they, or any Spiritual or Temporal Peer " after the Union may enjoy; and the said four Spiritual Lords and twenty-eight " Temporal Peers shall have the same right of sitting upon the trial of Peers as any " other Spiritual Lords or Temporal Peers may enjoy; and in the case of the trial of " any Peer during the adjournment or prorogation of Parliament, the said twenty-

" eight Temporal Peers shall be summoned in like manner, and have the same powers " and privileges at such trial as any other Spiritual Lords or Temporal Peers of the " United Kingdom; and that all Spiritual Lords of Ireland, and their successors, " shall have rank and precedency next and immediately after the Spiritual Lords of " the same rank and degree of Great Britain; and that all Temporal Peers of " Ireland shall, from and after the Union, have rank and precedency next and " immediately after the Peers of the like orders and degrees in Great Britain at the " time of the Union, and before all Peers of Great Britain who may be created after " the Union, and shall be tried as Peers of Great Britain, and shall enjoy all privi- " leges of Peers as fully as the Peers of England do now, or as any other Peers of " Great Britain may hereafter enjoy the same, the right and privilege of sitting in the " House of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon; and particularly the right " of sitting on the trial of Peers excepted; and that all Peers for that part of the " United Kingdom called Ireland, created after the Union, shall have rank and pre- " cedency among the Peers of the United Kingdom, according to the dates of their " creation, and enjoy all the privileges which may be enjoyed by the Peers of " Ireland as hereinabove specified and declared.

Article V.

" Resolved, That, for the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that the churches " of that part of Great Britain called England, and of Ireland, shall be united " into one church, and the archbishops, bishops, priests, &c., of the churches of " England and Ireland, shall from time to time be summoned to, and entitled to sit " in convocation of the United Church, in the like manner, and subject to the same " regulations as are at present by law established, with respect to the like orders of the " Church of England; and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the " said united church shall be preserved as now by law established for the Church of " England; and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church of " Scotland shall likewise be preserved as now by law established for the Church of " Scotland.

ARTICLE VI.

" Resolved, 1. That, for the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that " His Majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall, from and after the first " day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, be entitled to the same " privileges, and be on the same footing, as to encouragements and bounties on " the like articles, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom " respectively, and generally in respect of trade and navigation, in all ports " and places of the United Kingdom, and its dependencies. And that in all " treaties made by His Majesty, his heirs, and successors, with any foreign " power, His Majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges, and " be on the same footing as His Majesty's subjects of Great Britain.

" 2. That from the said first day of January, one thousand eight hundred " and one, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles the growth, " produce, or manufacture of either country to the other, shall cease and " determine; and that the said articles shall thenceforth be exported from one " country to the other, without duty or bounty on such export.

" 3. That all articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom " (not hereinafter enumerated as subject to specific duties), shall from henceforth " be imported into each country from the other free from duty, other than " such countervailing duty as is specified in Schedule No. 1, annexed to this " Article; and that the articles hereinafter enumerated shall be subject, for the " period of twenty years from the Union, on importation into each country " from the other, to the duties specified in the Schedule No. 2, annexed to this " Article, *viz.*—

" Apparel,	Glass,	Paper, stained,
" Brass, wrought,	Haberdashery,	Pottery,
" Cabinet ware,	Hats,	Saddlery,
" Coaches,	Hardware,	Silk manufacture,
" Copper, wrought,	Lace, gold and silver,	Steel,
" Cotton,	Millinery,	Stockings.

" And that the woollen manufactures shall pay, on importation into each country, " the duties now payable on importation into Ireland.

" Salt and hops, on importation into Ireland, the duties which are now paid in " Ireland; and coals, in importation, be subject to the same burdens to which they " are now subject.

" 4. That any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either " country, which are or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the " materials of which they are composed, may be made subject, on their importation " into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty " as shall appear to be just and reasonable, in respect to such internal duty or duty " on materials; and that for the said purposes the articles specified in the said " Schedule No. 1, should, upon importation into Ireland, be subject to the duty " set forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminished, or increased, in the manner " herein specified; and that upon the like export of the like articles from each " country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given equal in amount to " the countervailing duty payable on the articles hereinbefore specified on the " import into the same country from the other; and that in like manner, in future, " it shall be competent to the United Parliament, to impose any new or additional " or countervailing duties, or to take off or diminish such existing countervailing " duties as may appear, on like principles, to be just and reasonable in respect of " any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth, produce, " or manufacture of either country; or if any new or additional duty on any mate- " rials of which such article may be composed, or of any abatement of the same; " and that when any such new or additional countervailing duty shall be so " imposed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a " drawback, equal in amount to such countervailing duty, shall be given in like " manner on the export of every such article respectively from the same country.

" 5. That all articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, " when exported through the other, shall in all cases be exported subject to the " same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which " they were the growth, produce, or manufacture.

" 6. That all duty charged on the import of foreign colonial goods into " either country shall, on their export to the other, be drawn back, or the amount, " if any be retained, shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they

" shall be so exported, so long as the general expenses of the empire shall be " defrayed by proportional contributions; provided nothing herein shall extend to " take away any duty, bounty, or prohibition which exists with respect to corn, " meal, malt, flour, and biscuit, but that the same may be regulated, varied, or " repealed from time to time, as the United Parliament shall deem expedient.

Article VII.

" Resolved, That, for the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that the " charge arising from the payment of the interest or sinking fund for the reduction " of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, shall " continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively.

" That for the space of twenty years after the Union shall take place, the " contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively towards the expenditure " of the United Kingdom in each year, shall be defrayed in the proportion of " fifteen parts for Great Britain, and two parts for Ireland. That at the expiration " of the said twenty years, the future expenditure of the United Kingdom, other " than the interest and charges of the debt incurred before the Union, shall be " defrayed in such proportion as the United Parliament shall deem just and " reasonable, upon a comparison of the real value of the exports and imports of the " respective countries, upon an average of three years next preceding the period " of revision, or on a comparison of the value of the quantities of the following " articles consumed within the respective countries, on a similar average, *viz.* beer, " spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco, malt, salt, and leather, or according to the " aggregate proportion resulting from both those considerations combined, or on a " comparison of the amount of income in each country, estimated from the produce " of the same period, of a general tax, if such shall have been imposed, on the " same descriptions of income in both countries; and that the Parliament of the " United Kingdom shall afterwards proceed in like manner to revise and fix the " said proportions according to the same rules, or any of them, at periods not " more distant than twenty years, nor less than seven years, from each other, unless " previous to any such period, but subsequent to the first of January one thousand " eight hundred and twenty-one the United Parliament shall have declared, as

" hereinafter provided, that the general expenses of the empire shall be defrayed " indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the like articles in both countries.

" That for the defraying of the said expenses, according to the rules above laid " down, the revenues of Ireland shall hereafter constitute a consolidated fund, upon " which charges equal to the interest of her debt, and sinking fund, shall in the " first instance be charged, and the remainder shall be applied towards defraying " the proportion of the general expense of the United Kingdom to which Ireland " may be liable in each year.

" That the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will " by these Articles be liable, shall be raised by such taxes in each kingdom " respectively as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall from time to time " deem fit: Provided always, that in regulating the taxes in each country by which " their respective proportions shall be levied, no article in Ireland shall be liable to " be taxed to any amount exceeding that which will be thereafter payable in " England on the like article.

" That if at the end of any year any surplus shall accrue from the revenues of " Ireland, after defraying the interest, sinking fund, and proportioned contribution " and separate charges to which the said country is liable, either taxes shall be " taken off to the amount of such surplus, or the surplus shall be applied by the " United Parliament to local purposes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency " which may arise in her revenues in time of peace, or be invested by the commis- " sioners of the national debt of Ireland, in the funds to accumulate for the benefit " of Ireland, at compound interest, in case of her contribution in time of war, " provided the surplus so to accumulate shall at no future period be suffered to " exceed the sum of five millions.

" That all monies hereafter to be raised by loan, in peace or in war, for " the service of the United Kingdom, by the Parliament thereof, shall be consi- " sidered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respec- " tive countries in the proportion of their respective contributions. Provided, that " if at any time in raising the respective contributions hereby fixed for each " kingdom, the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a " greater proportion of such respective contribution in one kingdom within the

" year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the " liquidation of the whole, or any part, of the loan raised on account of the one " country than of that raised on account of the other country, then such part " of the said loan, for the liquidation of which different provisions have been " made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by " each separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, " for the reduction of which the respective countries shall have made provision in the " proportion of their respective contributions.

" If at any future time the separate debts of each kingdom respectively shall " have been liquidated, or the values of their respective debts (estimated according " to the amount of interest and annuities attending the same, of the sinking fund " applicable to the reduction thereof, and the period within which the whole capital " of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund) shall be to each " other in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each kingdom " respectively, or where the amount by which the value of the larger of such " debts shall vary from such proportion, shall not exceed one hundredth part of the " said value; and if it shall appear to the United Parliament that the respective " circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing " indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the " future general expense of the United Kingdom, it shall be competent to the " said United Parliament to declare that all future expense thenceforth to be " incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debt contracted " previous to such declaration, shall be so defrayed indiscriminately, by equal taxes " imposed on the same articles in each country; and thenceforth, from time to time, " as circumstances may require, to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject " only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and that part of " Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time " to demand; that from the period of such declaration it shall no longer be necessary " to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future general " expenses according to any specific proportion, or according to any of the rules " hereinbefore prescribed: provided nevertheless, that the interest or charges which " may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country

" is chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionably as " above, shall, until extinguished, continue to be defrayed by separate taxes in each " country.

ARTICLE VIII.

" Resolved, That, for the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that all laws " in force at the time of the Union, and all the courts of civil and ecclesiastical juris- " diction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established " within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations, from time to time, " as circumstances may appear to the Parliament of the United Kingdom to require ; " provided that all writs of error and appeals which may at present finally be decided " by the House of Lords of Ireland, shall, from and after the Union, be finally " decided by the House of Lords of the United Kingdom; and provided, that from " and after the Union, all Admiralty Jurisdictions be under the Lord High Admiral " or Commissioners of the Admiralty of the United Kingdom; and that all laws at " present in force in either kingdom, which shall be contrary to any of the provi- " sions which may be enacted by any Act for carrying these articles into effect, be, " from and after the Union, repealed.

SCHEDULE, No. 1.

" *Of the Articles to be charged with countervailing Duties upon Importation into* " *Great Britain and Ireland, respectively, according to the Sixth Article* " *of Union, to which this Schedule is annexed.*

ARTICLES TO BE CHARGED WITH A COUNTERVAILING DUTY IN GREAT BRITAIN.

" Beer,	Leather,	Starch,
" Bricks and Tiles,	Paper, stained,	Sugar, refined,
" Candles,	Printed Cottons,	Sweets,
" Cordage,	Soap,	Tobacco.
" Cider,	Silk,	
" Glass,	Spirits,	

ARTICLES TO BE CHARGED WITH A COUNTERVAILING DUTY IN IRELAND.

" Beer,	Paper, stained,	Sugar, refined,
" Glass,	Silk,	Sweets,
" Leather,	Spirits,	Tobacco.

SCHEDULE, No. 2.

" *Of the Articles to be charged with the Duties specified, upon Importation into* " *Great Britain and Ireland, respectively, according to the Sixth Article* " *of Union, to which this Schedule is annexed.*

" Apparel,	Haberdashery,	Saddlery, and other manu-
" Brass, wrought,	Hats,	factured leather,
" Cabinet Ware,	Hardware,	Silk Manufactures,
" Coaches,	Lace, gold and silver,	Steel,
" Copper, wrought,	Millinery,	Stockings, ten per cent.
" Cotton,	Paper, stained,	on the true value.
" Glass,	Pottery,	

His Lordship then said it was his intention to move to have the papers, which he had laid before the House, printed and circulated.

MR. G. PONSONBY opposed the motion at great length.

SIR JOHN PARNELL said, " It had been contended that Ireland must gain in " a pecuniary point of view, because her expenses would only be in proportion to " those of England, as one to seven. But this was a very fallacious mode of reasoning, " for, as the expenses of England increased, those of Ireland must increase also; " and at the expiration of twenty years, Ireland would be entirely at the mercy of " the United Parliament, to be taxed to whatever extent they thought fit; but, even " if this project was calculated to procure commercial advantages to Ireland, yet, " when it so obviously attacked their independence, he was sure they would not " agree to it. He was extremely sorry to hear of buying boroughs; it was the most

" unconstitutional project, and the most calculated to degrade Parliament, that " the ingenuity of man could devise. Before the terms of this Union were stated, " Gentlemen might entertain some doubt, but it appeared to him almost impossible " for any man now to hesitate to give them his most decided opposition. It had " been said, that a Union would tend to ameliorate the situation of the Catholics; " but he could not see that it would have any such effect; he did not think that it " would be of any advantage, either to one religion or to the other. The great " majority of the people of Ireland were decidedly averse to a Union: if he thought " otherwise, he should not oppose it. If the Noble Lord wished to try the public " opinion upon the question, let him appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the " business; let Parliament be dissolved, and then the people would speak their " sentiments by the representatives they would choose."

Mr. Dobbs.—" Sir, I rise to make my solemn protest against entertaining, " even for a moment, this message from the British minister, delivered under the " usurped name of Majesty. I say the usurped name of Majesty, for it would not " be decent in me to suppose that that identical monarch, who guaranteed the Con- " stitution of 1782, should, in the year 1800, desire this House to annihilate itself, " and, at the same time, surrender the independence of Ireland.

" Sir, every man who reflects for a moment must see that if this legislative " union were to pass into a law, Ireland must be enslaved, because she must in " future be governed by a legislature over which she can have no possible controul. " Inevitable ruin must be the consequence of a legislative union. All the Peers, " who were made Peers of England, we must reasonably believe, would reside in " England; the twenty-eight Peers, who were elected for life, we must reasonably " believe, would reside in England; the one hundred Commoners, we must reason- " ably believe, would reside in England; and, as they are to be the representatives of " counties and populous towns and cities, they would necessarily be some of the greatest " landholders in Ireland. If not a man was to remove on account of this legislative " union but those who were to sit in the Imperial Parliament, the additional drain " of money from this country must inevitably bring on poverty and ruin.

" Sir, if I am well informed, this foul measure has been attempted to be supported " by as foul means. Will the Noble Lord get up and say, upon his honour, that

" the church establishment, the revenue establishment, the military establishment, " and every dependant on Government, were not employed to procure subscribers, " by threats and promises, to the few addresses that have been obtained in favour " of a Union? Will he declare, upon his honour, that he does not believe there is " a man in this House who has the people's money in his pocket, paid him out of " the public treasury, to vote for this Union? Will he declare, upon his honour, " that no money has been paid to any man to vacate his seat, who could not be " brought to vote for the measure, in order that a Unionist should be returned in " his place? Will he declare, upon his honour, that those men who thus come in, to " vote away their seats before they are well warmed in them, are neither to receive " money, place, or preferment for their services? Will he declare, upon his honour, " that no British Peerages have been promised in order to get votes for this " measure?—that no Irish Peerages have been promised for the same purpose?—that " all who hold places under Government are free to vote as they please without the " fear of dismissal? No, no, he will make no such declarations. But if he did, " there are facts that blaze in all the glare of day. We behold a Right Honour- " able Member, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, dismissed from his office " because he would not betray his country. We behold a Right Honourable and " Learned Member dismissed from the office of Prime Serjeant, because he would " not betray his country. We behold Honourable Members, who were Commissioners " in the Revenue and Barrack Boards, dismissed from their offices, because they " would not betray their country. And we know that even the office of Cursitor " to the Court of Chancery was taken from an Honourable Member because he dared " to do his duty.

" It was not for nothing that the serpent, and every venomous creature, had " been banished from this land. *I tell the Noble Lord, I tell you, Sir, and this " House, and I proclaim it to the British and Irish Nations, that the inde- " pendence of Ireland is written in the immutable records of Heaven.* I shall, " therefore, vote against going into this committee."

COLONEL VEREKER.—" After the manly, eloquent, and impressive manner in " which this question has been debated by my honourable friends, it is almost pre- " sumption to add another word upon the subject, because, if the minister was not

" determined to persevere in persecuting the country, he would long ago have " abandoned a project which he has been so shortly shown to be detrimental to " the interests of Ireland, to be inimical to the sentiments of the landed property of " the kingdom, and odious to the people. I rise not, therefore, Sir, with the vain " hope of turning the accents of the Noble Lord's tongue to compliance with the " voice of the country, but because I feel it a duty I owe to myself, never to let " an opportunity pass of expressing my determined, unconquerable aversion to this " most detestable measure, calculated to enslave me, and replete with ruin, insult, " and degradation to my country."

COLONEL MARTIN said, " That if the proposed Union was so bad a measure " as had been represented, they alone were to be blamed who, by their machinations, " had rendered it incumbent on ministers to propose it."

SIR JOHN BLAQUIERE.—" He, for one, was as independent as any man in " the House, for he held no situation that the Crown could take from him; but " he had the firmest conviction on his own mind of the truth of the assertion he " was going to make, *viz.*—that, within the last three months, house-rent had " increased in the city of Dublin. Upon the whole, this measure appeared to him " highly calculated to promote the interests of Ireland, both in a constitutional " and in a commercial point of view, and therefore he should give it his decided " support."

MR. ORMSBY contended, " That the gentleman opposite to him had not " advanced the least shadow of argument against Legislative Union. They talked " of blood-shedding if the projected measure passed; in this way they substituted " their own vague and wild assertions for arguments. They expressed themselves " ready to spill their blood should Union pass; but if they could offer no better " reasoning to preclude its passing, he would freely tell them, that it must take " place, notwithstanding all their hostility to it."

MR. LEE.—" Attached as I acknowledge myself to be to the King's Govern- " ment and the established constitution of the land, it is painful to be obliged to " oppose the one, in order to do my duty as an honest representative of the people " in defence of the other. This measure of His Majesty's minister I consider " nothing short of an attempt to subjugate the constitution of Ireland, which I have

" sworn to maintain. I therefore warn those gentlemen against committing the " two countries, and outraging the feelings of every honest and loyal Irishman who " reveres the constitution handed down to him by his ancestors, and re-asserted " and settled in 1782."

MR. J. C. BERESFORD.—" The industry of the Government and its emissaries " has been employed all the summer in procuring addresses from every county, " city, and village; their complimentary addresses we consider as nothing but toys, " to divert a Lord Lieutenant; but we never expected, until experience convinced " us, that they could be made use of, as an argument in Parliament, to prove the " consent of the nation to this destructive measure.

" The Noble Lord has been pleased to say the metropolis oppose the measure, " only through local disadvantages. If there were no other reason for the oppo- " sition, I think the ruin of the metropolis is no small argument; but, Sir, they " are not influenced by such selfish motives. The general misery that will follow " to the nation from the adoption of this measure, is what influences their minds " and breathes in their addresses. The Noble Lord feels very uneasy at the " novelty of certain letters which have been distributed under the signature of " some very respectable gentlemen, for the purpose of procuring addresses against " this measure, and which he is pleased to call, 'letters missive.' I see nothing very " strange in these gentlemen endeavouring to procure the real sense of the country " on the subject, when so many extraordinary means have been made use of to " procure an apparent one: for, the whole summer, every village has been ransacked " for signatures, and means been made use of to procure them, which the Noble " Lord would be ashamed of were he acquainted with them."

MR. OGLE observed, " That it now appeared plain the British Minister and " his noble representative in this country, were determined to persevere in attempt- " ing an incorporating Union; and he concluded, by an anxious remonstrance with " the country gentlemen to withstand what he pronounced an obnoxious projected " measure."

MR. P. BURROWES said, " Frivolous and fallacious as the Right Honourable " Secretary's statement has been, I do not found my opposition to going into a " committee upon the peculiar demerit of the system of Union which he has

" detailed. I openly avow that no terms or conditions can ever persuade me to " surrender the constitution of Ireland—to transfer the supreme power of the " State to a country which has continued distinct from ours since the creation, " by boundaries which cannot be removed, and by feelings which cannot be eradi- " cated. If a Union shall pass, as an Irishman I shall be indifferent how many or " how few deputies shall be sent from this emasculated country. As long as the " Parliament which legislates for Ireland shall exist in the bosom of a distinct " country, as long as a rival feeling shall actuate the heart of that country—that is, " as long as the heart of man shall beat—this country, deprived of its domestic " Parliament, will be the prostrate victim of British prejudice and British oppression. " This is sound theory; this is true history.

" Upon the competency of Parliament to pass this measure I shall not dwell; " if there be an irresistible truth in politics and in morals, this appears to me to be " one—namely, that temporary trustees have no right to transfer the object of their " trust for ever, without the consent of those through whom, and for whom, they " held and exercised it; every argument to the contrary is built upon a confusion " of right with power, and an inference, that, because institutions originating in " wrong have, from policy and acquiescence, changed their nature, that every act " of the supreme power must be rightful."

Mr. Edgeworth.—" Sir, a man who is totally unconnected with this " House, rises to deliver his opinions under a very considerable disadvantage; he " is certain that his errors will meet with no indulgence, and that whatever he may " say, favourable to the opinions of any description of gentlemen in this House, will " obtain him but a slender share of their support, as it is not advanced to strengthen " their party. His motives also are sometimes suspected; he is supposed to wait " for terms on the one side, or to fear loss of popularity on the other. I have, Sir, " notwithstanding these discouragements, steadily abstained from deciding upon " this subject till I had heard the terms of Union, which were to be laid before " this Parliament. At the commencement of the last session, I declared myself in " general disposed to a Legislative Union with Great Britain, but I at the same " time voted against the immediate adoption of the measure; I wished that it should " be laid before the people of this country for their cool and dispassionate inves-

" tigation, and I at the same time declared that I never would concur in forcing it " upon the people by mere parliamentary majorities. I trusted that when the first " feelings of national pride had subsided, the good sense of the nation would adopt " the measure if it appeared decidedly beneficial. I waited patiently, till the terms " of the measure came before the House, and I was conscious that I might trust " myself till that moment should arrive, as I had no ambition to gratify on the " one side, and as I knew how to appreciate the value of temporary popularity on " the other. Not even you, Sir, to whom I have always looked up with the " highest deference and respect, could predict the manner in which I shall give " my vote on the present question, for, Sir, it was not decided when I came within " these walls." [Mr. Edgeworth proceeded to argue at great length upon the many advantages of a Union, after which this most respected member concluded as follows:—] " On this occasion, Sir, perhaps the last in which my voice can ever be " heard in public, I shall not court the protection or encouragement of any party. " I shall be guided in every step of this business, not by any preconceived theory, " but by the practical judgment which I may form from every source of information " within and without these walls. But, Sir, my present vote has been determined " chiefly by one circumstance, which renders it impossible for me to contribute to " the establishment of the system now proposed to us. The minister has avowed " that seventy boroughs in this kingdom are saleable commodities, that he intends " to purchase them with the public money, and he openly tells you that the price " *is fixed.* Sir, when I heard a minister in England, in the dispute upon the " regency, avow that he would not be minister without having the Lords of the " Bedchamber at his disposal, I was astonished at the hardiness of the assertion; " but, when we are told that seventy boroughs of this kingdom, whose members " are now amongst us, are to be purchased at £.15,000 a-piece, it is impossible to " collect the genuine sense of the nation within these walls. Sir, that influence " exists instead of prerogative we all admit; but to tear the veil from the shocking " idol of corruption, and to command us to worship it in all its indecent and " disgusting nakedness, is a species of profligacy that takes away the zest of " refinement from debauchery. There are actions which all the world perform, " but *Democritus* alone despised his species sufficiently to perform them publicly.

" Whilst this corruption is part of the proposal for a Legislative Union, I will oppose " it; and till I believe, from my own observation and my own judgment, that " the sense of the sober and impartial majority of this nation is in favour of " the measure, notwithstanding my own opinion is in favour of it, I shall vote " against it."

MR. M'CLELLAND.—" Much was said by gentlemen at the other side of the " House of the popular attachment to the Irish Parliament, but he would contend, " and in the spirit of candour he could not be contradicted, that, notwithstanding " the Parliament of Ireland had really conferred some important benefits on the " country, the public confidence was estranged from it, and that this estrangement " had been in progress from the epoch of 1782 to the present hour."

MR. TIGHE said, " The Noble Lord had founded that measure upon two " assumptions, which he had not proved nor attempted to prove by argument, and " which assumptions were entirely false. The first assumption of the Noble Lord " was, that the opinion of the nation was in favour of the measure; upon what " did he found that assumption? Was it upon the almost unanimous sense of all " the counties declared last year against that measure, when first it was brought " forward? Or was it upon the almost unanimous sense of those same counties " now declared to Parliament in petitions deprecating that measure? Or did he " found his assertions upon those miserable signatures obtained in different parts " during the summer, by fraud and by forgery? He could prove that to one set " of those Resolutions, sixty names had been forged, that to another, which he would " name, that of Waterford, numberless respectable names had been forged. Several " persons had protested in the public papers against the impudent forgery of their " names—names were inserted contrary to the wishes or sentiments of the parties. " If so many forgeries occurred to him, it was probable that every Member of this " House could state as many to the different pretended resolutions of different " parts of the country—and after all, the names signed to a single petition on " the table would out-number the whole obtained in favour of a Union by nine " months' labour and expense. But as much labour had been taken to prevent " names being signed to those petitions, had I been one of those whom want of " reflection, or an indifference for the liberties of my country, had so far misled as

" at first to have approved of this measure, I should now more than hesitate when I " looked back at once upon all the evil auspices under which it has been introduced " and supported;—I should lament, that the hour of public calamity had been " chosen for the discussion;—I should lament that it was introduced in the midst of " a doubtful conflict with a desperate enemy;—I should lament it was introduced " while the wounds of a rebellion were fresh, of a rebellion fomented by the conduct " of that British Cabinet, which now proposes the greater evil as the completion of " the lesser;—I should lament that no means had been left untried to obtain a false " opinion from this House and from this nation—the offices of the Crown, the " honours of the Crown, prostituted for the destruction of the State—the seats of " this House bartered for the sale of the constitution—corruption modified to meet " the sense of the lowest of the people—signatures to addresses compelled, purchased, " forged—the civil powers degraded into panders; the executive into the pitiful " trafficker for subscriptions—nay, the military aid called in to intercede for signa- " tures—lists were exhibited under powerful authority, and the rebel procured " indemnity and the traitor oblivion, not by writing, but by not striking out his " name—hireling priests were sometimes found willing to sell the conscience of " their flocks, while looking back perhaps to their former occupation they were " ready to enjoin the subscription to slavery as a penance for unsuccessful rebellion; " for these are men, who, provided the State is destroyed, care not by what means " they assist in the destruction."

Mr. J. M. O'Donell.—" My desire for the eternal continuance of British " connexion, induces me to rise, and reprobate the odious measure now before the " House, which, if persisted in, will not only endanger it, but ensure a dissolution " of those bonds of amity and political interests, which have for so many centuries " united England and Ireland. I shall not waste the time of this House in " expressions of just contempt for those who have apostatized and betrayed, and sold " the rights of their country. I leave them to the keen edge of their own " reflection.

" I shall not condescend to inquire whether *terms* proposed this night by the " Noble Lord are good or bad. *Terms*, for what? For the *eternal surrender* of the " rights, the constitution, and the independence of Ireland. I say, Sir, we never

" were sent into this House for so base a purpose—and our constituents deny, and " justly deny our authority to do so. I ask, is that woman virtuous who only " refuses to part with her virtue because she disapproves the terms? I ask, will " not the world suspect her virtue who shall condescend to listen to any terms for " a dishonourable purpose? Will any honourable guardian listen for a moment to " terms, in order to betray the virtue of his female friend entrusted to his care? " *We* are the guardians of the honour and constitution of our countrymen, and we " shall be more base than that Government which endeavours to assails us, unless we " shall repel the attack. It is said by some, that we now admit the competence of " Parliament on the present occasion; I deny that any gentleman on this side has " ever admitted it; for my part, I thus publicly deny the competenee of the " present Parliament, and, next to the impolicy and unjustness of a Legislative " Union, the want of competency on our part to enact the measure is the firmest " ground on which I place my opposition.

" Sir, I again say, the discussion of this question is disgraceful to the nation, " and highly insulting to our constituents. If the question of *Union* must be " agitated, let the present Parliament be dissolved, and another called for that " purpose—I shall not deny the competence of such a Parliament, although I do " that of the present, because our constituents never dreamt that so infamous a " measure would have been proposed for our consideration—the gentlemen on the " Treasury Bench have denied that this precaution was taken in the settlement of " the Union between England and Scotland; I beg leave to refer them to the " history of that transaction, and they will find that it was expressly mentioned in " the Queen's proclamation for calling a new Parliament, that it was for the " purpose of taking the Union into consideration."

Mr. Grattan.—" The project of a Union is nothing less than to annul the " Parliament of Ireland, or to transfer the legislative authority to the people of " another country—to such an act the minister maintains the Irish Parliament to be " competent, for in substance he maintains it to be omnipotent—I deny it; such an " act in the Parliament, without the authority of the people, is a breach of trust. " Parliament is not the proprietor, but the trustee; and the people the proprietor, and " not the property. Parliament is called to make laws, not to elect law-makers;

" it is a body, in one branch, of delegates, in no one branch, of electors, assembled " to exercise the functions of Parliament, not to choose or substitute another Par- " liament for the discharge of its own duty; it is a trustee, and, like every trustee, " without a power to transfer or hand over the trust—a miserable quibble it is to " suppose, that, because delegated to make law, it has therefore a right to make a " law to destroy its own law-making or supersede its own delegation, precluded as " it is by the essential nature of its trust from annulling its own authority, and " transferring the powers of its creator, the society, to another country. It is " appointed for a limited time to exercise the legislative power for the use and " benefit of Ireland, and therefore precluded from transferring, and transferring " for ever, that legislative power to the people of another country. It is appointed, " entrusted, created, and ordained, not only to exercise the legislative powers of " the society, but also to preserve her rights, and instead of abolishing them by " surrendering them to another country, to return them at stated periods unim- " paired, undiminished, to the people from whom they received them. I state a " principle on which the House of Commons is built, supported by authorities, if " any authority be requisite.

" The English Minister thinks otherwise—he pronounces the Irish Parliament " absolute—he gives no reason; he who denied the power of France to alter her " government, maintains the omnipotence of the Irish Parliament to annul her " constitution—he whose Parliament protested against its competence now affirms " its omnipotence—he supports this false doctrine by the confusion and inapplica- " tion of his cases—he confounds the case of a Parliament accepting of the legis- " lative dominion of another country with the treachery of the Parliament of that " country, betraying, transferring, or selling the legislative power. What, does " he mean to say that the Parliament of England is competent to transfer to Ireland " the legislature of Great Britain? Does he mean to say that she is competent " to reduce the number to an insignificant proportion, and transfer that part and the " seat of legislation, that is the English legislation itself, to the French legislation " at Paris? Yet I believe, if the French council should choose to transfer the " legislation of France to the Parliament of Westminster, England would scarcely " hesitate on the subject of her own competency; the one is the competency of

" acquisition—the competency of diminution—the competency of aggrandisement;
" the other is the competency of treason—the competency of delinquency—the
" competency of abdication."

MR. SAURIN said, " That the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Corry)
" denied any compact, either express or implied, between the Government and
" the people, and asked where the record of compact was to be found. Certainly
" it was not in the Rolls Office nor in the Exchequer, but it was to be found in
" the heart of every honest senator—it was the living extract of reason and
" justice—and he trusted that every man in that House would consider it well
" before he voted on a question involving the rights and liberties of the country.
" The constituent parts of a State are bound to hold public faith with each other
" and with the community; and unless the measure is clearly advantageous, and
" the people sanction by their consent the transfer of the power of the State, you
" may as well vote a Union with France, or with Germany, as with England.
" You have no right to transfer your authority.

" If the measure is a good one, and you think it deserving of being considered
" by the country, *dissolve* the Parliament—take the sense of the nation consti-
" tutionally—I know no other mode in which the voice of the country can be
" properly collected; but do not introduce the placemen whom you sent out, and
" call their return an expression of the voice of the nation—give the country fair
" play—let it speak through its constitutional organ—its voice will have its
" weight—and you at last will, if you should be disposed to entertain this
" measure, have a decent colour for your proceedings."

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL supported the motion, as did Mr. Grady.

The question being put—Ayes, 158.

Noes, 115.

FINIS.

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